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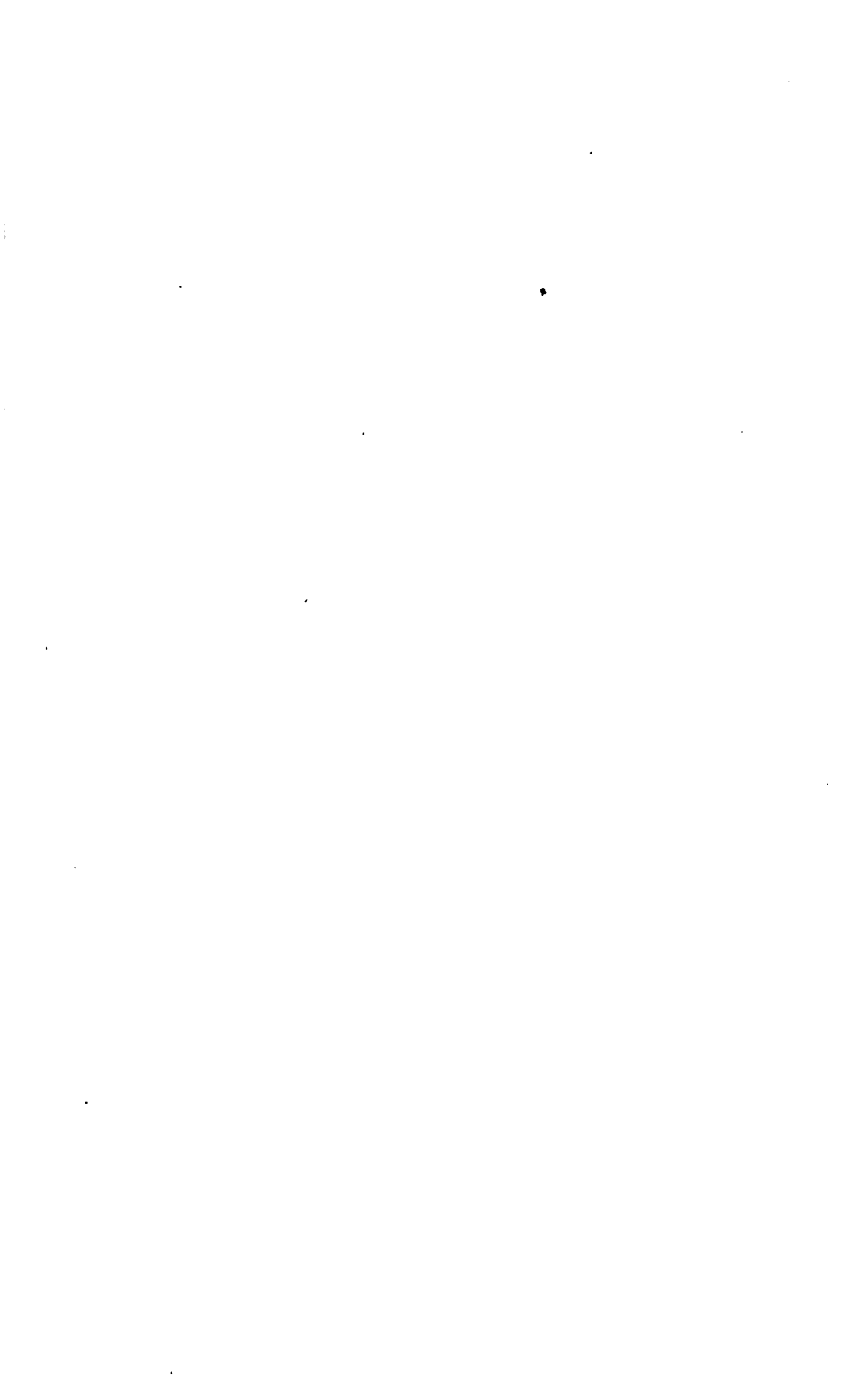
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A VISIT
TO THE
INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO,
IN H. M. SHIP MÆANDER.



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A VISIT
TO THE
INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO,

IN H. M. SHIP MÆANDER.

WITH
PORTIONS OF THE PRIVATE JOURNAL OF SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.

BY
CAPT^N. THE HON. HENRY KEPPEL, R.N.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY OSWALD W. BRIERLEY.

"Where things familiar cease, and strange begin."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON :
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LONDON:
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TO SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.,

RAJAH OF SARAWAK.

MY DEAR BROOKE,

Dedications are, I believe, still in fashion; and if so, many considerations decide me to assign this conspicuous position to your name. If it be in any measure a compliment, there is none to whom I would rather offer it. If it be a way of letting the world know that one has a worthy friend, you are the man. If it be a mode of drawing more attention to one's work than its own merits would secure, or of bespeaking more indulgence for the sake of the patron than its unprotected demerits would find—yours is still the name to which I would trust.

I have one other reason; namely, that four or five chapters of my book are really devoted to a vindication, which certainly you do not need, but which I could not shun to offer, without turning out of the direct course of duty and of pleasure. Accept it according to its intention rather than its ability; and believe me,

My dear Brooke,

Your sincere friend,

HENRY KEPPEL.

DROXFORD, Dec. 11, 1852.

PREFACE.

I WAS considering how to excuse myself for writing a book, when my eye fell upon an old edition of Lord Bacon's works, of which the illustrated title-page suggests an excellent apology for nautical authors. It represents a ship sailing into port ; and under it is this Scripture text in Latin, " Many shall run to and fro, and *knowledge shall be increased.*" Certain it is that " they that go down to the sea in ships, and occupy their business in great waters, these men see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep." I believe that the profession, to which I have the honour to belong, *has* increased useful knowledge more than all other professions, and that it may still do so. Let sailors simply tell what they have *seen* and can *testify* ; each storing up his share of authentic information when he finds himself

" Where things familiar cease, and strange begin,"

and none such need apologise for the books they write.

The phenomena of Nature ; the phases of society civilised, and semi-civilised, and barbarous ; its manners, customs, and peculiarities ; the productions, animate and inanimate, of all climes : the *world*, in short, seen everywhere, and faithfully reported just as it is, affording thus food for the sublimest and for the simplest studies,—this is, at least in time of peace, a worthy department of the sailor's mission.

I do not say that we are all to print, whether we see anything or not ; but that a sailor, actively employed, can hardly escape from an “increasing knowledge,” on subjects new to those at home, which qualifies him for a very useful kind of authorship.

My “VISIT TO THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO” has grown out of this principle. I hope the perusal of it may reflect on the reader some portion of that information or amusement, which I owe to it or to the days to which it takes me back.

A word is necessary upon one particular subject, which occupies four or five chapters of this book,—more space than I had thought of assigning to it ; but it grew under the pen ; and of all parts I feel that this needs the least

apology, except for its imperfect execution. The subject is Sir James Brooke : and the intention is to vindicate that excellent man from calumny. This task, though almost superfluous, offered itself so directly in my course, that I could not turn from it. Many of my observations have been doubtless better made by abler defenders of my friend ; but there is some new *matter* ; and I have drawn upon no extraneous source for *opinions*, which I have had superior opportunities of forming for myself. I commend my facts to the attention of the reader ; my reasonings to his impartiality ; and all inadvertent errors to his “gentleness.”

HENRY KEPPEL.

DROXFORD, Dec. 11, 1852.

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 ERRATUM.

Page 260, line 8, for "Alfred," read "Edgar."

ILLUSTRATIONS.



CHART OF THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO . .	Inserted in Pocket.
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A VISIT
TO
THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

CHAPTER I.

**MAENDER SELECTED TO TAKE OUT GOVERNOR BROOKE TO LABUAN—DEPARTURE FROM
SPITHEAD—MADEIRA—RIO DE JANEIRO—GREAT CIRCLE SAILING—PRINCE
EDWARD'S AND CROZET'S ISLANDS—STRAITS OF SUNDA—BEST COURSE FOR A QUICK
PASSAGE—ARRIVAL AT SINGAPORE—NOTICE OF ITS FIRST ESTABLISHMENT—
INVESTITURE OF GOVERNOR BROOKE AS K.C.B.—TIGERS—WATER-BUFFALOES.**

As soon as it was decided that Mr. Brooke was to go out as Governor of Labuan, Lord Auckland, with his usual kindness and consideration, concluded that an old friend acquainted with the locality, and feeling an interest in Bornean affairs, might be of more assistance in forming the new settlement than a stranger; I was in consequence, on the 1st of November, 1847, appointed to the *Mæander*, 44 guns, at Chatham. She was quickly and well manned, and would have sailed at the end of

December so as to meet the Governor early in April at Singapore ; his intention having been to leave England in February, by the overland route. Mr. Brooke had, however, obtained the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor for Mr. William Napier, a gentleman who, from long residence as a proctor at Singapore, was well acquainted with the intricacies of our treaties with the Netherlands Government respecting the Eastern Archipelago.

It was decided that the passage by sea in a man-of-war would be more convenient than the route overland, for the conveyance of the Lieutenant-Governor's family ; and he having much to arrange with his chief, which might easily be done during the voyage, they decided on going together. A passage was applied for and ordered accordingly.

The main-deck guns, as far forward as the main-mast, were dismounted ; the ports fitted as windows, and the deck divided into cabins ; the *Mæander* had then the appearance of one of Mr. Green's fine Indiamen, without however pretending to their accommodation.

The confusion on board even an Indiaman expressly fitted for passengers is generally bad enough ; but in a man-of-war, where every inch of space has been pre-occupied, the holds containing no more than the provisions necessary for so large a body of men, the extra demand for stowage which was not fairly to be had crammed our lower deck up to the beams with luggage, turned the men

out of their proper berths, and caused a degree of discomfort not to be described.

On the 24th January we arrived at Spithead ; and, having embarked our passengers, we sailed on the evening of the 1st February. The weather was such as is usually experienced in the Channel at this season of the year, so that we had the disadvantage of at once plunging into a head sea ; and, before we had got abreast of the Eddystone, it blew hard from the westward : we thought it advisable to run into Plymouth Sound, and secure things in the places into which they had been just shaken ; we sailed on the 6th, and again took shelter on the 10th in Cork Harbour, our passengers suffering considerably.

Sailed from Cork on the 15th.

After our full share of bad weather, we were not sorry to arrive at Madeira on the 23rd. Our party were entertained with the usual hospitality of that island. Her Majesty the Queen Dowager was at this time residing there for the benefit of her health, and she had caused her munificent charity to be felt throughout the island.

The day after our arrival, His Serene Highness the Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, attended by his sons, the Princes Edward and Herman, with Lord Northland, Major de Winton, and a large party, paid the *Mæander* a visit.

We sailed on the 26th. The incidents of a sea voyage are seldom interesting to any but the party concerned. On crossing the equator, the usual ceremony was

performed ; and the presence of passengers imparted to it an unusual degree of excitement.

On the 24th we arrived at Rio de Janeiro, which we found as dirty as ever, with the slave trade in full vigour. A few months afterwards the philanthropic and enduring exertions of the British Government, seemed to have finally triumphed, and this vile traffic to have received its death-blow ; but we find it still attempting to struggle into a new existence.

Among the men-of-war lying here we were glad to see the *Comus*, Commander D'Eyncourt, showing no symptoms of having been some weeks at the bottom of the muddy Rio de la Plata. May the time be far distant when a British officer shall despair of saving what by others might be given up as a lost affair ! Besides the *Comus*, we have the splendid example of the *Gorgon* steam-frigate, recovered in almost the same locality. The circumstances just differed sufficiently to make each instance remarkable on its peculiar grounds ; the former vessel was as far under water as the latter was above the usual level of the river.

March 28th, sailed from Rio Harbour. On the principle of great circle sailing, we continued to make southing, until we were in the 56th deg. of east longitude, by which time we had attained the 48th of south latitude.

On the 19th April we made Prince Edward's Island, the summits of whose mountains were covered with snow :

on the following night, according to the chart, we ought, in the course we were taking, to have passed between the Crozet Islands, but we saw them not.

On the 13th May we entered the Straits of Sunda, forty-seven days from Rio.

Having made an equally quick passage six years previously in the *Dido*, beating five men-of-war who kept the old track by St. Paul's and Amsterdam, I can safely recommend the one by which we sailed as the most expeditious, though perhaps not the most agreeable route; we had much cold and unpleasant weather, with the thermometer frequently below 40 deg. On comparing the track of the *Dido* with that of the *Mæander* for the last 7000 miles, I find that the distances between the position of the two ships at noon on each day never exceeded 100 miles.

On the 27th April, John Wallis, a fine young man, twenty-four years of age, fell overboard from the main-topsail yard: the ship was running fast through the water, and the ship's company at breakfast. While lowering the quarter-boats to succour him, Lieutenant Comber, ever foremost in any such case, fell over the stern of the second cutter: the sea had closed over poor Wallis before a boat could reach him, and Comber was with difficulty picked up in an exhausted state. While he was in the water, we observed several huge specimens of the albatross pass over him, and so close that he felt the tips of their wings sweep his face. Felicia Hemans must have

seen some one in the like predicament before she wrote what so exactly describes our sensations :

“ Be still, thou sea bird, with thy clanging cry ;
My spirit sickens as thy wing sweeps by.”

Attacks from these enormous gulls are not unusual. In 1830, when the *Seringapatam* frigate was on her way to Valparaiso, after rounding Cape Horn, and being under close-reefed topsails, a man fell overboard : he was unable to swim, but was fortunate in getting hold of the life-buoy, to which he clung ; but he had scarcely time to congratulate himself on his good luck, before he was assailed by an unlooked-for enemy in the albatross, who seemed to consider him as their immediate property. A tap on the head from one of their beaks might have finished poor Jack's career ; but, terrified at their formidable appearance and equivocal intentions, he attempted to defend himself with his shoe ; this, without much difficulty, they had just torn from his grasp, when the boat arrived to his rescue.

Wallis was a general favourite, and the ship's company requested they might be allowed to send a day's pay to his widowed mother, who was entirely dependent on him for support.*

On the 20th May we arrived at Singapore, after an excellent passage of three months and five days, including stoppages at Madeira and Rio.

* The acknowledgment, with grateful thanks, from poor Mrs. Wallis, I received a few months afterwards, in a letter dictated from her death-bed.

MAN OVERBOARD.

By Wm. H. Brown

Here we received the intelligence of another revolution in France, the proclamation of the Republic, and of Louis Philippe being a refugee in England.

We found Commodore Plumridge's broad pennant flying on board the *Cambrian*: the late commander-in-chief, Admiral Inglefield, having died at Bombay.

On the 22nd our passengers landed, Mr. Brooke being received with all the honours due to a governor; and on the following day preparations were commenced for establishing the new colony. An office was opened in Singapore, and contracts received for the frame-works of the temporary residences to be erected for the Government functionaries.

On the banks of a small stream—the rendezvous, until 1819, of only a few Malay trading prahus—now stands the rich and extensive town of Singapore. By no act of his life did Sir Stamford Raffles manifest greater discernment and foresight, than by founding this settlement. In 1824, five years after its first establishment, the population amounted to 11,000, “the magical result,” says its eminent founder, “of a perfect freedom in trade.” This number had already doubled itself when I saw the place for the first time in 1833; and it has continued to increase ever since in the same rapid way. Singapore has now become the commercial emporium of all the trading communities of the Eastern Archipelago, as well as of that extensive trade which is carried on by all nations with China and India. Hither also resort, now

twice in every month, the steam-vessels of the Dutch from Batavia, of the Spanish from Manilla, and our own from China, to meet the European mail. The number of square-rigged vessels that anchor annually in the roads exceeds a thousand. The island measures twenty-seven miles in length by eleven in breadth. A few years ago it was a dense jungle : on every hill may now be seen the residence of some hospitable merchant, surrounded by plantations of nutmeg or other spice trees. Excellent roads intersect the island ; and substantial bridges are thrown across its streams—for which luxuries of communication much credit is due to the present energetic and excellent governor, Colonel Butterworth.

On the 9th June the *Phlegethon* steam-frigate sailed with the engineer, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Hosken the harbour-master, as the pioneers of the new settlement at Labuan.

The June mail, which arrived on the 7th August, brought our new commander-in-chief, Sir Francis Collier, as well as the gratifying intelligence that Her Majesty had been pleased to confer the Order of the Bath on Mr. Brooke—of which he was made Knight Commander,—and the Lieutenant-Governor of Labuan was directed to invest Sir James accordingly. The ceremony was performed on the 22nd of August, a very great event in Singapore, Mr. Napier representing Her Majesty with becoming dignity : the whole business was more amusing than imposing, and finished in the evening with a ball.

By some error, the representative of Majesty omitted to invite the too sensitive editor of a local journal, which oversight gave rise to a succession of amusing articles, supposed to be in disparagement of the new colony generally, and of the Royal Navy in particular : some of these subsequently found their way into an English paper, and, I am told, were alluded to in the House of Commons. Great indeed must have been the triumph of my little friend.

During our stay at Singapore, the body of a large tiger was brought in by some Malays (a not unusual occurrence), to enable them to receive the reward given by Government. The Malays stated that, when they found this monster in a hole which had been dug to catch him, they threw quick lime into his eyes ; and the unfortunate beast, while suffering intense agony from this cruel appliance, drowned himself in some water which was at the bottom of the pit, though not more than a foot deep.

The annual loss of human life from tigers, chiefly among the Chinese settlers, is perfectly fearful, averaging no fewer than 360, or one per diem. Great exertions are still making for the destruction of these animals, which is effected by pitfalls, cages baited with a dog, goat, monkey, or other restless animal, and by sundry cunning contrivances. Not many years ago the existence of a tiger in the island was disbelieved ; and they must have been very scarce indeed, for even the natives did not know of any. It is the opinion of Dr. Oxley (no mean

authority at Sincapore), that one may have been accidentally carried by the tide across the narrow straits which separate the island from the main land, and another may have instinctively followed: finding abundance of food they have multiplied. This is a more rational mode of accounting for their being here, than to suppose that they chased their prey over; as it is contrary to the nature of the beast to follow in pursuit, after the first attempt proves unsuccessful. Now, at Sincapore, as in the days of Alfred with the wolves in England, it is necessary to offer a reward for their destruction.

One of the most recent victims was the son of the headman at the village of Passier Rice, who, having gone into the jungle immediately at the back of his father's house, for the purpose of cutting wood, was attacked by a tiger. The father, hearing his cries, rushed out just in time to grasp his son's legs, as the brute was dragging him into the jungle. The father pulled and the tiger growled ferociously, and it was only on several persons coming up and assailing him, that the monster was persuaded to quit his prey; but the unfortunate young man was dead! I could enumerate many instances of the daring exploits of these brutes, but one or two will be sufficient to convince the reader of the ferocious nature of their attacks, and their peculiar relish for human flesh, which, when once tasted, is preferred by them to any other.

The district of Siranjong appears to be their favourite prowling-ground. In April, last year, one of them put to

flight a party of Malays who were at work in that neighbourhood. Before they could get clear of the jungle, the tiger — a well-known brute, advanced in years, and remarkable from having large white spots—sprang upon one of them, selecting, of course, the fattest. When the first shock of their fright was over, they turned on the tiger, and, pursuing him with their parongs (short swords), made him drop his prey, but not until the poor man was in the agonies of death. The same tiger, however, determined not to be disappointed of his meal, that night carried off a Chinaman at a short distance from the scene of his morning's exploits. In the course of the following month, at the same place, two Chinamen employed in sawing timber were carried off. On the last occasion, the comrades of the victim, hearing his shrieks, bravely rushed out in a body to his assistance, as the tiger was dragging him towards the jungle ; but, instead of dropping his prey and skulking off as he ought to have done, the brute, greatly to their dismay, faced about and stood growling over the body in a most ferocious manner ; and it was not until he had received a shower of sticks and stones that he moved off.

The water-buffalo is an animal much in use at Singapore for purposes of draught. It is a dull, heavy-looking animal—slow at work, and I think disgusting in appearance ; but remarkable for sagacity and attachment to its native keepers. It has, however, a particular antipathy to a European, and will immediately detect him

in a crowd. Its dislike to, and its courage in attacking, the tiger is well known all over India.

Not long ago, as a Malayan boy, who was employed by his parents in herding some water-buffaloes, was driving his charge home by the borders of the jungle, a tiger made a sudden spring, and, seizing the lad by the thigh, was dragging him off, when two old bull buffaloes, hearing the shriek of distress from the well-known voice of their little attendant, turned round and charged with their usual rapidity. The tiger, thus closely pressed, was obliged to drop his prey, to defend himself. While one buffalo fought and successfully drove the tiger away, the other kept guard over the wounded boy. Later in the evening, when the anxious father, alarmed, came out with attendants to seek his child, he found that the whole herd, with the exception of the two old buffaloes, had dispersed themselves to feed, but that *they* were still there—one standing over the bleeding body of their little friend, while the other kept watch on the edge of the jungle for the return of the tiger.

There is a procession and much parade in bringing these tigers to the Government office. They are made to look as fierce as possible, propped up in a standing position by pieces of bamboo, the mouth open, and tail on end.

The Governor kindly presented me with this fallen monarch of the jungle, and I was astonished at the number of native volunteers for the service of denuding

him of his skin, the only part I coveted, while they demanded the carcase for their trouble. But I found afterwards that they made a large profit by retailing the flesh, a belief being entertained by this people that the eating of it is not only a sovereign remedy for all diseases, but that it imparts to him who eats it the sagacity as well as the courage of the animal. A friend of mine belonging to the 21st regiment, M.N.I., who was slowly recovering from an attack of fever, finding some difficulty in masticating the food before him, questioned his servant as to the cause, when he discovered that the fellow had purchased a small piece of my tiger, which he had clandestinely introduced into his master's currie. When my friend got well, young Zaddie firmly believed that his remedy had effected the cure.

On the Rajah's visiting some poor Dyaks in November, 1850, located on the Quop branch of the Sarāwak river, so strongly impressed were they with the idea that sagacity and intelligence might be instilled into the human frame through the channel of the throat, that, at a feast given to celebrate his visit, the elders of both sexes, taking from a cauldron a handful of rice, which some of the party were cooking in the centre of the apartment, brought it to the "Tuan Besar" (Great Sir), to spit on, and the mixture thus made they swallowed with peculiar gusto, the younger branches applying to the Rajah's European attendants for a similar relish to their meal.

Although out on several occasions, I was never fortunate enough to fall in with a live tiger. With wild hog we occasionally had good sport. With my friend, Dr. Oxley, who seldom misses his bird, I had some good snipe-shooting, but it requires a companion acquainted with the locality to obtain sport. Deer are occasionally met with. The naturalist will find no end of amusement in the jungle ; there are varieties of the monkey ; the *Pteromys* (flying squirrel) is common ; but the most extraordinary creature is the *Pteropus*, or flying fox, of which Dr. Oxley writes, "I may add several species of the bat tribe, amongst them, that most destructive one to all fruits, the flying fox or *Pteropus* : fortunately, however, they are as yet scarce, but at no distance from us they are numerous beyond count. I have seen a flock of them, whilst anchored in the straits of Malacca, so large, as to take several hours in passing ;" and the editor of the "Journal of the Indian Archipelago," states in a note, "A colony is at present located in a mangrove creek at the head of the estuary of the Johore. In the day they may be seen asleep hanging in millions from the branches of the mangroves. At sunset they begin to stir, and presently they ascend into the air, and wing their way to the southward in one vast interrupted cloud. They pass the whole night in the jungle and plantations devouring fruit, and as soon as dawn begins to appear, they mount the air again, and return to their roosting-place at the head of the estuary." Dr. Oxley adds, "Their flesh is eaten by

the natives, but no real fox smells to my mind one half so rank as they do ; methinks a rat would be palatable food compared with them." I have frequently seen them when fresh caught : they make scarcely any attempt at escape, and are very gentle, frequently licking the hand of their captors ; the skin is beautifully soft, the head is like that of a miniature fox.

CHAPTER II.

NEW HARBOUR—SAIL FROM SINGAPORE—SANTOBONG—EXCITEMENT AT THE RAJAH'S
RETURN—ST. PIERRE'S—MÆANDER PROCEEDS UP THE RIVER—REJOICINGS—
KUCHING—EARLIEST VIEWS AND MOVEMENTS OF SIR JAMES BROOKE.

WHILE preparations were making for the establishment at Labuan, the *Mæander* refitted in the snug and picturesque New Harbour, which appears to have been overlooked in selecting the first points of settlement; the only objection to it as a harbour is the intricacy of the eastern entrance; a difficulty which, by the introduction of steam, has become of little consequence. No place could be better adapted for a coal depôt; and, as a harbour for a man-of-war to refit, it is most convenient. The forge can be landed, boats repaired, and the artificers employed under commodious sheds, and all under the immediate eye of the officers on board. It has another great advantage over Singapore roads; in the latter anchorage a ship's bottom becomes more foul than in any other that I know of,—perhaps from the near proximity to the bottom; this is not the case in New Harbour, through

which there is always a tide running. Although it has the appearance of being hot and confined, surrounded as it is by high land, we did not find it so in reality : generally there is a current of air inside, while the ships in the stagnant and crowded roads are often becalmed.

On 29th August we re-embarked Sir James Brooke, who proposed calling at Sarāwak on our way to Labuan ; the Lieutenant-Governor was to follow in the *Phlegethon* steamer, after the arrival of the mail.

Right glad was I again to find myself, accompanied by Sir James Brooke, approaching the coast of Borneo. Five years had elapsed since we were last together there,—under circumstances, perhaps, of greater interest, although at the moment less auspicious. He seemed then to have no other resources, nor means of carrying out his truly philanthropic views than his own brave heart, manly bearing, and sincerely good intentions.

On the 2nd September, being near Santobong, we sent a boat up to Sarāwak, and that evening we anchored off the Marotabus entrance, under Tanjong Poe.

It was while under this point, in 1839, in the *Royalist* yacht, that Sir James for the first time witnessed a native skirmish : an attack was made by some Sakarran marauders on a small boat of Sarāwak Malays, who had accompanied him on a short pleasure excursion.

The news of our approach having reached Kuching* by the boat which we had despatched the previous afternoon,

* Kuching is the name of the capital town of the province of Sarāwak.

as our *avant-courier*, by the Santobong entrance, we now saw coming towards us with the last of the ebb a few prahus, the advance-guard of a whole fleet, which was hastening to welcome their beloved chief. It had been the Rajah's intention to reach his capital without any fuss; but by a letter from Mr. Crookshank he learned that the whole population had been thrown into a state of the greatest excitement, and not an individual would remain at home, who could procure a conveyance down the river. The following morning presented, indeed, a lively and exciting scene; the whole Sarāwak population appeared to be afloat; all their largest and finest boats had been put into requisition, and came with tomtoms beating, streamers and colours flying.

The first boat which came alongside contained the Bornean Princes, the survivors of the Brunè massacre, and relatives of poor Muda Hassim. Among them I recognised Pangueran Omar Alli, with a desperate wound in the face: he had also a frightful gash across the breast. He had a narrow escape, having been attacked while asleep.

While I was on deck, waiting to receive their Royal Highnesses in proper form, they found their way into the presence of the Rajah through the quarter gallery window, thereby evading all ceremony. The pleasure on both sides at meeting was unfeigned: and, indeed—setting aside those social ties which must bind us all more or less to the land of our birth,—no one, witnessing the real

delight which the return of Sir James Brooke afforded these simple people, could wonder at his preferring the country, where such a reception awaited him, to colder, if more civilised, England.

With the first of the flood tide our Rajah embarked in the *Mæander's* barge ; and, quitting the ship under a salute and manned yards, attended by his picturesque fleet, he proceeded up the river.

After Sir James's departure we stood out to sea again, in search of our small tender, the *Jolly Bachelor*. Off Tanjong Datu we hoisted out our boom boats, and sending them to the north and south, we stood ourselves towards St. Pierre's.

At a distance St. Pierre's has the appearance of two islands ; but, on approaching, we found the parts connected by a white coral-bank, which appeared as if it would have been dry at low water. We stood within a cable's length on the south and east, as well as on the south-west sides, without finding any bottom with the hand-leads. We afterwards met the tender off the entrance of the Sarāwak river ; but, darkness coming on, we brought up half-way between it and Tanjong Poe.

It took us three days to get up to the Quop, owing to the freshets we experienced. There was no flood tide, and not sufficient wind to render the ship governable under canvass ; for certainly the *Mæander* was the largest ship ever seen, or likely to be seen, in this river.

I took up my old quarters in the Rajah's house, and

found him surrounded, as formerly, by a happy and contented people. His reception by them had been most gratifying to him : it was late in the evening before the flotilla arrived, and every house was illuminated with rows of lamps, which were reflected on the smooth surface of the river for more than two miles, having a very pretty effect.

Although we found Kuching greatly improved as regards size and importance, it was not so in appearance. We missed the magnificent jungle forest close to the backs of the picturesque native houses that faced the edge of the river. Bare hills, studded with black stumps of trees, which had been burnt to make room for roads and cultivation, now showed above the houses.

Before entering into any further description of the province of Sarāwak, it may be well to recapitulate, as briefly as possible, what I stated in a former work, as to the motives which first induced Sir James Brooke to visit this country ; it will be useful also to glance over subsequent events, up to the present time.

"I had," observes Sir James Brooke in an early journal, "for some years turned my mind to the geography of the Indian Archipelago, and cherished an ardent desire to become better acquainted with a country combining the richest natural productions with an unrivalled degree of luxuriant beauty. Circumstances for a time prevented my entering on this field for enterprise and research ; and when the barriers were

removed I had many preparations to make, and some difficulties to overcome."

Mr. Brooke finally sailed from England in his schooner yacht the *Royalist*, of 142 tons, on the 16th December, 1838, and he arrived at Singapore on the 1st of June, 1839. Thence he sailed for Borneo on the 28th July. His first intention had been to proceed to Maludu Bay; but, hearing that the Rajah Muda Hassim, who then governed that part of the island called Borneo Proper, was at Sarāwak, he determined on proceeding up the river to the capital town of Kuching. He was kindly welcomed by the Rajah, who did not usually reside at Sarāwak, but was at that time detained there by a rebellion in the interior. The population was then about 1500 persons, chiefly the followers of the Rajah and of his fourteen brothers, who also had their ordinary residence elsewhere.

On the 21st August, leaving the yacht in the river, and having obtained permission, Mr. Brooke, accompanied by some chiefs, proceeded on his first excursion into the interior, visiting Sibnow, Samarahan, and other places removed from the seat of civil war. He returned on the 25th. On the 30th, he made another excursion, and visited a tribe of Dyaks up the Sundu river. These visits are most interestingly described in his published journal.

On the 9th September, and on subsequent days, Mr. Brooke had interviews with the Rajah, during which trade and various other topics were discussed, and a reciprocal confidence and good feeling appears to have been

established. At these interviews a cunning and intelligent Malay, named Macota, was generally present. This man was of superior education, and appears to have gained much of Mr. Brooke's confidence, as did also Muda Mahommed, who was own brother to Muda Hassim, and a good man on the whole, though subject to fits of sulkiness.

On the 23d, Mr. Brooke, leaving the *Royalist* off the mouth of the river, and accompanied by two Panguerans, Subtu and Illudeen, visited the river Sadong, of which the Songi is a branch, where he made the acquaintance of Seriff Sahibe, by whom he was entertained. Datu Jembrong, an Illanun and pirate, lived near. Mr. Brooke described him as at that time somewhat advanced in years, stout, and with a resolute air, but of a most polite demeanour ;—as oily-tongued a cut-throat, indeed, as a gentleman need wish to associate with. Having made these and other acquaintances, Mr. Brooke, on the 3rd October, again took leave of Muda Hassim, and returned to Sincapore.

On the 20th November, he started on his interesting visit to the Celebes Islands, of which an account is published in Captain Mundy's work, after which he again returned to Sincapore, where he refitted, but was detained some time longer by ill health.

It was the end of August, 1840, before he made his second visit to Sarāwak. He found the people in much the same state as at his first visit ; but there was some

talk of more decisive measures for bringing the civil war to a close. He renewed his friendly visits to the Rajah, and states in his journal that "their good understanding knew no interruption."

"October 2nd," observes Mr. Brooke, "lying at Sarāwak, losing valuable time, but, pending the war, difficult to get away. Whenever the subject is mentioned, Muda Hassim begs me not to desert him just as it is coming to a close, and daily holds out prospects of the arrival of various Dyak tribes.

"The Rajah urged upon me that he was deceived and betrayed by the intrigues of Panguerans, who aimed at alienating from him the affections of his countrymen ; and that, if I left him, he should probably have to remain here for the rest of his life, being resolved to die rather than yield to the unjust influence which others were seeking to acquire over him ; and he appealed to me whether, after our friendly communication, I could, as an English gentleman, desert him. Under such circumstances, I felt that honourably I could not do so ; and, though reluctantly enough, I resolved to give him the aid he asked, —small indeed, but of consequence in such a petty warfare."

On the 3rd, Mr. Brooke started for the seat of war, and joined Der Macota, up the river at Leda Tanah.

I must again refer my readers to the amusing description he has given to the public of this civil war. The aid he afforded soon brought matters to a crisis. The rebels

surrendered to him, and he interceded with the Rajah for their lives.

“Those who know the Malay character will appreciate the difficulty of the attempt to stand between the monarch and his victims. I only succeeded when, at the end of a long debate—I soliciting, he denying—I rose to bid him farewell, as it was my intention to sail directly, since, after all my exertions in his cause, if he would not grant me the lives of the people, I could only consider that his friendship was at an end. On this he yielded.” The wives and children of the principal people were demanded as hostages, and were delivered up.

“Siniawan, the seat of the civil war, dwindled away. The poorer men stole off in canoes, and were scattered about, most of them coming to Kuching. The better class pulled down the houses, abandoned the town, and lived in boats for a month ; after which, alarmed by the delay, and impelled by hunger, they also fled. Patingue Gapoor, it was said, betook himself to Sambas ; and the Patingue Ali and the Tumangony sought a retreat among the Dyaks.”

I have stated this much to enable those of my readers, who may not have had an opportunity of perusing Mr. Brooke's early journal, to form an idea of some of the moving causes which induced my friend to allow himself to be invested with the Government of Sarāwak. It was from no sordid nor ambitious views, but from truly philanthropic motives. He had acquired some experience ; and he

clearly saw that, if he could succeed in removing those evils which were a fertile source of oppression and abuse, he might live to see Sarāwak inhabited by a flourishing and happy people. But, if my readers would appreciate all the difficulties with which Mr. Brooke had to contend, they must be referred to his early journals, which are already well known. What he has accomplished since their appearance, up to the present time, I shall endeavour to state in another chapter.

CHAPTER III.

STATE OF THE PROVINCE OF SADONG—BORNEAN STORM—CONFERENCE AT THE RAJAH'S
WITH THE NATIVE CHIEFS—WILD HOG KILLED—DEPARTURE FOR LABUAN—THE
GOVERNOR SWORN IN—DIFFICULTIES OF THE NEW SETTLEMENT—THE BARRACKS—
DEPARTURE FOR BRUNÈ—SQUALLS—DISASTERS THEREBY—DEPARTURE FOR
SINGAPORE—SICKNESS AT LABUAN—DEATHS AMONG THE MARINES—ARRIVAL AT
SINGAPORE—RETURN TO LABUAN—SEPOYS ON BOARD SHIP—INCREASED SICKNESS
AND MORTALITY AT LABUAN—DANGEROUS ILLNESS OF THE GOVERNOR—HE EMBARKS
ON BOARD THE *M. RANDER*, AND PROCEEDS ON A CRUISE.

I SHALL now proceed to describe what we saw during our necessarily short visit at Sarāwak, and then relate a few subsequent events. Although Sir James Brooke had, previously to his departure in 1847, appointed proper persons to conduct the affairs of the province during his short stay in England, still the evils of lax government within, and the effect of renewed piracy without, were discernible. He had not time, before departing with us for Labuan, to restore matters to the state which he intended they should resume.

The province of Sadong, from its vicinity to that of Sarāwak, lay immediately under the eye of the Rajah, and enjoyed, by virtue of his protection, a large share of

the prosperity of Kuching. In this province Sir James detected a conspiracy, which had for its real object the re-establishment of slavery and piracy.

To nip this in the bud, he at once prepared a force to send to Sadong; and an excellent opportunity thus presenting itself for introducing our boats to the Bornean river service, four of them, under charge of Lieutenant Bowyear, accompanied the expedition. They returned in a few days, having succeeded in all the objects for which they went. The principal agents in the conspiracy were brought to account for their conduct before the "Tuan Besar" (Great Sir), and from one of them the origin of the conspiracy was worked out. It appeared that, immediately after Mr. Brooke's departure for England, young Seriff Ahmed, the son of my old acquaintance Seriff Jaffer (since dead), entered into a correspondence with Seriff Mullah. Ever since the destruction of his village and property up the Undop by the *Dido's* boats in 1844, the said Seriff Mullah had been living in the Sakarran country, for the purpose, it was said, of collecting the disaffected, who had made their escape on the destruction of their piratical strongholds at the different towns and fortifications, viz., at Padi, Pakoo, Rembas, Patusen, Undop, &c. Their object now was to establish head-quarters, and to fortify themselves, in Seriff Sahibe's old place, up the Sadong; and from thence to afford every encouragement and protection to the Sarebas pirates, sharing with them the plunder, of which they

would be sure to obtain abundance, especially from the extensive and increasing trade now carried on by their neighbours of Sarāwak. But

“Man proposes, and God disposes.”

The people of the Linga, with whom young Ahmed lived, were at enmity with the Sarebas.

One day, as Ahmed was returning down the river from a visit to his friend Mullah, he was waylaid by the very men with whom he was about to form an alliance; they endeavoured to murder him and the whole of his crew, and they so nearly succeeded, that out of eighteen one man only escaped to tell the tale. This was pretty well for “*inoffensive traders*.”

The Rajah's return,—so unexpected by these worthies, —and his decisive measures, at once overawed the instigators of these proceedings; and the appearance of the *Mæander's* boats for a time checked the equipment of the Sarebas war-prahus.

September 13th. We were joined by the *Auckland* steamer, which called in the river on its way to Labuan. With the Lieutenant-Governor came Sir James's nephew, Captain Brooke Johnson Brooke, heir-apparent to the Rajahship. He will not forget the first night he passed on the river, in my gig, between the Quop and the town.

Anxious to avoid the heat of the sun, we did not leave the *Mæander* until late in the evening, starting at about ten o'clock. One of those fearful storms peculiar to Borneo came on: the rain fell in such torrents that the

men had to take their hats, in addition to the regular balers, to keep the boat free ; the vivid flashes of lightning, followed by intense darkness and crashing peals of thunder, dazzled, blinded, and confused ; and when the men recovered their oars after baling the water out, we knew not which way to steer. We were, however, fortunate in reaching Kuching before daylight.

Among other interesting events which we witnessed during our short stay were two feasts,—one given by the Rajah to the chiefs and people, the other by the Datus to Sir James. At the Datus' we were received by the still pretty and graceful Inda, mother of Fatima, the youthful heiress to all the Datu Gapoor's property, whose beauty has now attained for her a wide celebrity throughout the Malayan Archipelago. She besprinkled us with coloured rice and gold-dust, to which was added a gentle shower of rose-water from an utensil, the commoner use of which was yet unknown among these kind and simple people. After we had taken our seats, verses from the Koran were chaunted, the book being handed from one to another, but without any regard to precedence or sanctity, the man with the strongest lungs taking the longest pull at it ; then came feasting, with the most undeniably excellent curries.

On the 21st September, a Bechara (talk) held at the Rajah's house was the principal and most important event. Every part of the audience-chamber was crowded ; light and air were almost excluded by the multitude of eager

faces that filled the openings which served for windows. We were in full uniform, and found it oppressively hot.

The business commenced by the chief of each department welcoming back the Rajah.

The Europeans presented him with a rich and valuable sword. Then came the Rajah's speech,—in the course of which he presented each of the Datus with a handsome state sword, and afterwards introduced to the people his heir-presumptive, his probable successor in the government of Sarāwak.

A new flag, which the Rajah had brought from England, was then unfurled for the first time—displaying a black and red cross on a yellow field. This was to be henceforth the national flag of Sarāwak. It was hoisted and saluted in due form, the *Mæander's* band by a lively air contributing to the effect.

A very complimentary portion of the Rajah's speech was devoted to the Captain of the frigate,—“Who had been,” said the speaker, “particularly selected by Her Britannic Majesty for the present honourable service, because he had on a former occasion, in conjunction with some of this distinguished audience, assisted in the destruction of many piratical strongholds,—a friend to the good but a scourge to the evil doer.” During this speech, which, although it lasted more than an hour, was delivered in the native language with extraordinary fluency, a deferential and complete silence prevailed. At its conclusion pipes and cigars were introduced ; we

threw off our jackets, and, appearing in full Sarāwak uniform, viz., shirts and trousers only, we discussed with less ceremony, and more comfort, the past, the present, and the future.

On one of the nights during our stay at Sarāwak we were disturbed by a couple of shots, fired in the garden adjoining Mr. Ruppell's bungalow, in which I was billeted. On reaching the spot, we found a huge hog making his last gasp. His epicurean taste for yams and pine-apples had long made him a great nuisance hereabouts; but, his agility being as remarkable as his appetite—enabling him to clear at one bound a six-foot high logwood fence—he had eluded all attempts of the Sarāwak sportsmen to stop his gastronomic career. At length, however, one “Peter” was too cunning for him: he verified the proverb about the pitcher which comes too often to the well. The exact height of this monster was three feet four inches: within his expanded jaws a small child might have stood upright.

We should have liked a longer sojourn at Sarāwak, but our new settlement had to be attended to.

On the 23rd September, the *Mæander* dropped down and anchored off Tanjong Poe; and on the morning of the 25th we sailed for Labuan. 29th September we anchored in Victoria Harbour, Labuan.

Temporary residences, consisting of small square cottage sheds raised about four feet from the ground, as all Malay buildings are, on piles, had been erected; but

they did not look very inviting. The flat selected for the settlement was below the level of the sea, from the encroachments of which it was protected by a self-formed bank. It had a swampy, unhealthy appearance. However, it is not for Englishmen to foresee difficulties, and the Governor landed in all due form, under a salute from the *Mæander*. Sir James Brooke and Mr. Napier were duly sworn in, and thus commenced the government of Labuan.

All provisions were ruinously dear—but the greatest difficulty with which the new settlers had to contend was the want of labourers ; those obtained were chiefly slaves, belonging to certain Malay chiefs on the Borneo side, who could recal their men at any moment. The few Klings and Chinese who had come over from Sincapore, had been spoiled by high wages and drink.

It is supposed that our old friend, Der Macota, had been busy in preventing the transmission of either men or supplies of any sort from Borneo. The following is a proof of the vindictive feeling evinced towards us by the Panguerans. A few Chinese carpenters went over to Brunè from Labuan ; and, while there, they were visited by some Malay women. Three of these women were summoned into the presence of the Sultan and Macota ; one of the women was attended by her two infants, who clung to her dress on either side. An executioner, in attendance behind, with a parang lopped off the little arms of the children—after which the three women were krissed.

A much more eligible and healthy spot than the site of our sheds had been selected for the barracks. They were to stand on higher ground, and, when fit for use, were to be occupied by a detachment of Madras Native troops, from the Straits settlement.

On the 6th October we again received on board the Governor and his staff,—his Excellency purposing to pay a visit of ceremony to the Sultan of Borneo, as well as to arrange with him certain matters of business. We hoisted out the launch before quitting the harbour, there being no place in which the open sea was likely to be smooth enough to enable us to do so with safety.

The next day, the 7th October, we were taken in a heavy squall, with the launch and our small steam-tender in tow ; and, before the sail could be got off, the launch—which was a bad imitation of the boats used on the north-west coast of Spain—took a dive, and turned bottom upwards. Our steam-tender, likewise in tow, did not take in so much as a spoonful of water.

We succeeded in picking up the two boat-keepers, and the greater part of the gear : at the same time we came to an anchor for the purpose of hoisting in the launch, which was considerably damaged by her short tow under water. While we were thus employed, the *Royalist* hove in sight, under jurmasts, having been dismantled. She had left us on the evening of the 5th for Sincapore, and had been caught in the same squall with ourselves. I do not remember ever to have seen so complete a wreck, as far

as spars and rigging were concerned. She was caught while in stays, and head to wind ; the bobstays had given, and the forestays had brought the bowsprit in-board ; this had been carried away just outside the knight-heads, and was now laid alongside the foremast, which, with the other three masts, lay amidships, fore and aft the deck.

Leaving the *Royalist* at Labuan to refit, and a volunteer party of Marines to do duty on shore, we sailed on 14th October for Sincapore.

The wind holding from the S.W., we went out to the eastward and northward of the island, taking advantage of the pilotage of Lieut. Gordon, commanding the *Royalist*, who was particularly well qualified to show us the way, having lately completed an excellent survey of the island and adjacent coast. After he had left us, and before losing sight of Labuan, we passed over an extensive coral shoal to the N.W., the sounding varying from four to four and a half fathoms for several miles ; such an uncertain bottom rendered it most unpleasant cruising-ground for a forty-four gun frigate.

On our passage, symptoms of fever began to show themselves among the party of Marines, who had been first sent to do duty at Labuan ; one of them, a private, died on the 17th, and a corporal two days after : they were both promising young men. These casualties caused us to feel very anxious about the poor fellows who were still doing duty there.

We made a long and tedious voyage to Singapore, not arriving until the 31st.

The Admiral immediately despatched the *Auckland* steamer, which returned with the *Royalist* in tow, on the 16th of November, bringing accounts of the progress made in the barracks for the Sepoy troops, as well as of the sickly state of all those who were located on the flat. It was decided, that we should embark a company of the 21st Native Infantry, under charge of my friend, Captain Douglas Hamilton. This we did on the morning of the 22nd; and sailing immediately afterwards, on the evening of the sixth day we anchored off one of the islands outside Labuan. It was well that we made so quick a passage: the poor Sepoys, who were as docile and obliging as they could be, under the circumstances, and appeared grateful for the arrangements we had made for their comfort, were still not happy. When they came on board we had just refitted, and had been fresh painted. Now John Sepoy is a clean animal on shore, when he can, without being seen, get rid of the red juice produced by the betel-nut and chunam, which he is constantly masticating; but, when he is so situated that one sees everything about him besmeared with the stains of the nasty-looking liquid, superadded to the influence of sea-sickness, then is he a very changed and unattractive creature. We gave our Sepoy troops one side of the main-deck entirely to themselves.

The Rajhpoots of the company being, next to the

Bramahs, the highest caste in Hindoostan, could not, of course, cook their rice at the same fire, nor drink of the same water as that used by those of lower caste ; nor could the lowest follower of these soldiers condescend to cook where our men daily dressed large portions of the unclean beast. Such a proceeding would, indeed, have been an abomination not to be got over ; so that we had to erect two cooking-places, independent of our galley-fire, and to hoist on board casks of water, which they had themselves provided and filled. The few poor fellows, whose stomachs were strongest, would appear in a morning with their little brass pots of water to perform their ablutions. They clean out the mouth with the forefinger, thrusting it well into the throat, which generally had the effect of accomplishing that which the unpleasant motion of the ship might have failed to do.

On landing at Labuan I almost dreaded enquiring into the state of the poor fellows we had left behind. We found the whole colony sick : some Marines had died, many others were seriously ill ; and, of all the survivors, the poor Governor himself was in the worst condition. He had been delirious, and lay apparently with but little hope of recovery ; and his favourite medical attendant, Dr. Treacher, in whom he had every confidence, was nearly as bad as himself. I saw that some steps should be immediately taken ; and, making my way to the sick bed side, I begged Sir James to prepare for removal on the morrow, giving him the choice of the *Auckland* or the

Mæander. Having a particular dislike to the motion of a steamer, he selected the latter, in spite of our wretched accommodation ; but I saw that no time was to be lost. Feeling better in the morning, Sir James undertook to sign a few papers : he fainted twice during the day ; and, when I called, just before sunset, with a boat's crew to convey him on board, he was so exhausted that our surgeon declared that it would be dangerous to remove him ; with great reluctance therefore on my part, he was left to imbibe for another night the fetid and pestilential air of the Labuan plain.

The selection of such a site for the town of Labuan has been, not unnaturally, criticised. Several considerations appeared at first to recommend it, while the objections were thought to be such as time and skill would overcome. The site fixed upon lay on the bay which had been selected by all the naval officers, who had visited the island, as the best harbour for shipping. It presented a beautiful beach, with a broad level plain behind it, for building operations. It was here that Captain Mundy hoisted the English ensign, when the island was taken possession of as a British colony. As to its malarious character, that was believed to be temporary, and to proceed from the fresh-water swamp lying behind the plain, which admitted of being thoroughly drained. Doubts, however, have been raised whether the sickness proceeded from the fresh-water swamp, or from the exposed coral reefs which abound in the vicinity of the harbour.

The site of the town has since been changed, the plain has been drained ; and I have not lately heard any complaints of unhealthiness, beyond those common to most tropical climates.

The following morning Sir James felt better, and I received a note from the A. D. C., to say that his uncle would be ready to embark in the cool of the evening. At five o'clock I had the satisfaction of receiving him on board ; but how altered ! I supported him to his cabin ; and, that he might have a change of air, although never so slight, we immediately got under weigh, and proceeded as far as the fast disappearing daylight would allow. At seven o'clock we came to, off Collier Point.

CHAPTER IV.

ANCHOR OFF KIMANIS—COMMUNICATE WITH THE ORANG KAYA—BOAT ARRIVES FROM WRECK OF THE MINERVA—CURIOUS SWARM OF BEES—SAIL FROM KIMANIS—KINI BALU MOUNTAIN AND SCENERY—WRECK OF MINERVA FOUND PLUNDERED AND BURNED—BALAMBANGAN—HAULING THE SWINE—SHERIFF HUSSEIN—CIVILITY OF THE CHIEFS—SPORTING—SIMPAN MANJOW—MALLAWALLER—DEATH OF JOHN JAGO—CAGAYAN SOLOO—REMARKABLE INLAND BASIN—CHRISTMAS DAY.

SIR JAMES BROOKE had duties to perform, as Her Majesty's Commissioner to the Sultan of Borneo, and the chiefs of the Malayan Archipelago; but he was only just able to indicate to me the direction in which he would wish to go. Our chief object being the restoration of his health, we managed by keeping the ship under easy sail during the day, and by anchoring in the evening, to give him the advantage of undisturbed rest at night. Among the invalids, there had come on board with the Governor his nephew and A. D. C., Captain Brooke, whose attack of fever was just coming on,—poor Dr. Treacher, a mere shadow of what he was,—young Charles Grant, also suffering from fever, and the good-tempered Spencer St. John, whose kindness to the sick had been unabated.

On Monday 4th we weighed at daylight, and with fair wind, smooth water, and fine weather, coasted along in the direction of Pulo Tiga, the scenery increasing in beauty as we got to the northward. Running between Pulo Tiga and Tanjong Kalias, we shaped a course E. by S. for the entrance to the Kimanis river, up which there was a fine old Orang Kaya (Chief Man), Isteer by name, a friend of our Rajah.

It was dark when we came to, in six fathoms, about three quarters of a mile off shore, and two to the westward of the entrance,—a good hit, considering that we had run the last twelve miles without seeing the land; nor is there by daylight any remarkable point to indicate the position of the river. This was formerly a great haunt of the Lanuns, and other thieves.

The following morning, 5th December, having obtained the necessary information from some native fishing-boats, we sent the second gig up the river, to inform the Orang Kaya of the Rajah's arrival, as well as to solicit a pilot for the river Mengatal, where we intended to get another for Maludu Bay. Sir James had been informed of piratical combinations and doings in Labok Bay; and, after calling at Maludu for information, it was his intention to proceed there.

A cutter followed the gig, filled with amateurs, whose description of the river agreed with the favourable one given by Captain Mundy.

After crossing the bar, in which they found little more than two feet water, they got immediately into fresh

water ; and, pulling up for two miles and a half the prettiest stream imaginable, about a hundred yards wide, they came to the picturesque village of Kimanis. Here the houses, gardens, tropical plants, orchards, and ornamented ground showed an improved state of civilisation : they found cattle, poultry, and stock of various kinds. On their way back they shot an alligator, and a couple of monkeys, with a few birds.

The worthy Orang Kaya, a man of most polished manners (as the higher class of Malays always are), came himself on board, to pay his respects to the Rajah, and to offer his services as pilot ; he brought a present of a calf, and some fruit. Our purser failed in obtaining a supply of fresh beef, the price of a bullock having reached ten dollars, —more than double the sum formerly asked for one.

I had intended to go up in the cool of the next morning, but in that I was disappointed, as in the afternoon the unusual appearance, in these waters, of a boat with a European sail was reported, coming down along shore from the northward ; she reached us just before sunset, and proved to belong to the *Minerva* schooner, bringing the master and mate of that vessel, which they had left on a coral bank near Balambangan.

In the master, Mr. Lonsdale, I recognised an old acquaintance, who formerly commanded the *Maria*, one of the transports under convoy of the *Dido*, during the Chinese war ; he stated that, having run on the reef, and finding that his vessel could not be got off without being

lightened, he was throwing her cargo, which was of teak, overboard, when he observed several prahus coming out from under a point of land ; having no arms wherewith to defend himself, he had taken to his long-boat with the few valuables he could hastily collect, manned by his Lascar crew, making eighteen in all. Ten of the Lascars afterwards left him, on his landing at a part of the island for fuel and water ; he then went on, intending to coast down as far as Labuan, and there seek assistance.

These prahus, from whom Mr. Lonsdale, in his discretion, made such a precipitate retreat, *might* have been inoffensive, peaceable traders ; but, not having then read the opinion of some of those gentlemen in England who live at home at ease, and having himself served in these seas, he thought it just as well to make sure of keeping his head on his shoulders, by shunning the honour of a visit from such distinguished foreigners, belonging to a people whose tastes do occasionally rejoice in a necklace of human teeth.

While we were at morning quarters off Kimanis, a swarm of bees, attracted perhaps by the sound of the band, came round the ship, and finally settled on the under quarter of the cross-jack-yard, presenting a most extraordinary appearance : by clinging to one another they formed themselves into a bag twelve or fourteen inches deep, the mouth of which, attached to the yard, occupied a space of about two feet in length, by one wide, and which was shaken and moved about by the wind. Fearing that the

men might get stung on going aloft, I tried to dislodge them, first by discharging a musket with a double charge of coarse powder at them from the mizzen-rigging, within four yards ; this having no effect, it was afterwards fired at the same distance with a charge of sand, by which a few fell ; the vacancies were immediately filled up, and the bag appeared to stick closer than ever. They remained two days, during which time we were twice under weigh, making and shortening sail, in each of which operations the chain topsail-sheet ran through the centre of the bag, and disturbed large portions of them in its passage ; but they returned and repaired the damage, as soon as the sheet or clewline had been belayed.

The disaster of the *Minerva* induced me to defer my visit to the village, in order that we might repair to the scene of the wreck, and render such assistance as might be practicable. Accordingly, early the following morning, having hoisted her boat on board, we weighed with a fresh southerly wind, which afterwards veered round to S.W. and W., and ran along the coast about a couple of miles off shore, with the noble mountain of Kini-Balu in the back ground, raising its magnificent head above the clouds. Nothing could be finer than the scene before us ; and the day being clear, we did not lose any part of this beautiful moving panorama. Our poor invalids were much too ill to enjoy it : this was, however, the first day in which I had been able to discover the slightest improvement in the Governor's appearance. At seven P.M., we came to, within

a couple of miles of the wreck, having run in smooth water no less than a hundred and twenty miles since the morning.

8th December.—As might be supposed, when we found the wreck, not only had she been completely gutted, but she had been burned down to the water's edge, for the sake of the copper and iron bolts. We observed a few native boats in the distance, making off with the plunder.

The appearance of Balambangan was not inviting ; its approaches are shoal and intricate. It was twice occupied by the East Indian Government, having been ceded to Mr. Dalrymple by the Sultan Amir of Soloo in 1763, but the occupiers for that Government were expelled by the Soloo pirates ; and, though afterwards recovered, it was eventually abandoned. The Spaniards also once claimed possession of Balambangan ; but, when Manilla fell into the hands of the English, they lost all hold on this place, as well as their other possessions in the Soloo Archipelago. The place has a south-west and a north-east harbour.

There are several convenient spots on which we hauled our seine. There is always much excitement in this mode of fishing within the tropics, from the great variety of fish which are found in the bag of the net. Not to mention sharks, swordfish, and a multitudinous gathering of specimens more digestible,—young alligators also, turtle, and often very rare and beautiful shells are brought to land.

The mouths of large rivers in wooded countries should be avoided, on account of the dead logs which lie on the

bottom, half buried in sand, and which generally break your net. The time of rising tide I have always found the best for fishing : with a falling tide, I imagine, the fish go out into deep water.

December 9th, we weighed, and stood into Maludu Bay. On our way we fell in with a native prahu, belonging to Seriff Hussein, a son of the unfortunate Seriff Osman, who made such a gallant resistance in August, 1845, up the Maludu River, when attacked by the boats of the fleet, under Captain Talbot of the *Vestal*. He came on board, not without certain apprehensions which he tried in vain to conceal, and was ushered into the presence of the "Tuan Besar" (Brooke), whose name alone in these seas appears to insure those who like to come to him protection and kind treatment. Not much information could be gained from this worthy at the first interview : during the second, he and the chiefs with him admitted that nothing could be worse than the unprotected state and want of government, under which they lived ; that each petty chief quarrelled with and attacked his weaker neighbours, while they, in turn, lived in constant dread of an attack from the more formidable Bajow, or Soloo pirates.

We anchored well up the bay, and sent on shore to communicate with the chiefs. The following morning a deputation came on board, when we were informed of the breaking up and dispersion of the Labok Bay pirates.

These people, who visited the ship, were particularly

obliging and civil, and sent their men to show us the best shooting-ground,—rather appearing to like our visit, although we were not long enough together to establish implicit confidence in each other.

On the 10th, having pulled and poled over a bar, and up a shallow salt-water creek, on the east side of the bay, a little to the northward of where we had anchored, we landed a small shooting party, and were shown some particularly likely-looking ground, covered with long grass, and intersected in all directions by the fresh tracks of wild cattle. A hog was the result of our sport ; but three large red deer made their appearance on the edge of the jungle, just as the guns had been discharged at our less dignified game. We were informed, that part of the coast near Simpan Manjiow was the best place for deer and wild cattle : and as our principal object was to establish friendly intercourse with the natives, wherever practicable, we weighed in the evening with a light land-breeze, and at eight the following morning anchored in nine fathoms, near the point of Simpan Manjiow. The north-east monsoon having set in, there was a heavy surf breaking along the rocky beach.

We discovered a bar about two miles to the southward, on the east side of the cape, over which we found a safe passage for the gig, leading into the entrance of a small river. On getting inside the bar, we discovered, parallel with the line of surf, a smooth-water boat-channel, affording a passage the whole way to the cape itself

uninterrupted, except in one particular spot : here was a small shelf, about ten yards wide, but we had no difficulty in carrying the gig over it.

We walked round and explored the ground on the western side, which we found well adapted for deer-shooting, being a fine open country, interspersed with trees,—the ground covered with short grass : there were tracks of numerous cloven-footed animals of all sizes, but it was too early in the day for them to be out feeding. Large herds of deer had been seen on a former occasion from the *Samarang's* boats, when they anchored for shelter on the western side of the cape. Numerous monkeys, while the tide was out, were amusing themselves on the sand.

Another party from the ship explored the coast to the southward ; they saw several small deer, but only succeeded in getting one.

On the 11th, with our tender, the *Jolly Bachelor* in company, we weighed and stood towards the island of Mallawaller, and soon entered among the dangers of the Soloo seas. As far as the eye could reach from the mast-head, patches of sand and coral banks were visible ; but the weather was fine, the water smooth and clear, time our own ; and, with our tender sounding a-head, we proceeded, nothing daunted by appearances. We could always pick our way by daylight, and anchor at sunset. With the novel and agreeable duty of making ourselves acquainted with the islands of this extensive

Archipelago and their inhabitants, we combined the gratification of affording amusement, and, with it, restoration of health to some of our poor invalids.

Mallawaller is surrounded by coral reefs and sandbanks. There appears to be a fine harbour to the eastward, but certainly no safe entrance for a ship the size of the *Mæander*. Exploring parties landed, and the island was well traversed. Some reported having seen, and fired at deer; and the appearance of the country made it probable that animals would be found there: it presented slopes of fresh, green grass, having rills of water running between them; nothing, however, was killed, and our shooting parties in the Soloo seas were uniformly unsuccessful. The brushwood having been set on fire in the evening, the flame spread and advanced with great rapidity, presenting a pretty appearance. No traces of inhabitants were here discovered, although, from the position of the place, its supply of wood and water, and the rich appearance of the soil, it should be a favourable position for a settlement; but we concluded that here, as well as at many other equally favoured spots, the absence of peaceable and settled inhabitants is to be ascribed to the want of such regular government as would secure protection from the lawless freebooters who infest these seas.

On the 13th, at ten A.M. expired in the prime of life, one of our finest young men, John Jago, another victim to the Labuan fever: his health had several times

partially rallied, but two days previous to his death he sent to take leave of me, and I was some time endeavouring to cheer him up. The sick were suspended in cots on both sides of the main-deck; and, when any death occurred, it was difficult to hide from the others what had taken place. Jago was the last of the barge's crew who was taken ill, and had attended most of his companions through their attacks of fever: there was a happy expression of countenance, and a generosity about this poor fellow, that had endeared him to both officers and men. He left me the address of his mother, and of a young girl to whom he was betrothed.

On the 15th, we weighed as soon as the sun was high enough to show us the dangers, and stood under easy sail to the eastward with the tender sounding a-head.

After some little difficulty in winding the ship through the shoals, and an occasional scrape on some projecting point of coral, that had outgrown the bed to which it belonged, we made Cagayan Soloo on the 18th; and before coming to an anchor on the eastern side, we buried a young Marine, George Martin.

Dollars not being a current medium of exchange among most of these islands, glass beads, looking-glasses, coloured cottons, &c., had been brought by us for purposes of barter; and, as we were very anxious to obtain a supply of bullocks to keep our men in general, as well as the

sick, as much on fresh meat as possible, a boat was sent, with the purser and the interpreter, accompanied by a party of officers, to communicate with a house, which struck us in passing—from its size and the plantations around it—as probably belonging to some chief, by whose assistance we hoped to get a supply of cattle.

Having got inside the shoals with some difficulty, and effected a landing, our party was received in the politest manner by a fine-looking old Malay, who came down with his family to meet them. They made him to understand our wants; and he sent immediately to the chief of the district, and acquainted him with our wishes, appointing the next morning at nine, as the time to receive the chief's answer. Our people left the shore much pleased with their friend, who, as I have before remarked of the well-bred Malays, was a gentleman, polite, easy, and dignified.

The next morning the same party landed with the necessary articles for barter, expecting to meet the chief or his deputy, and to make a bargain for the cattle. Their friend of the evening before received them in the same kind manner. They waited some time in expectation of the cattle arriving, instead of which, parties of natives kept thronging in, well armed with kris, spear, and shield,—their tomtoms beating outside. After a while came the chief with a numerous train—himself a humpbacked ferocious-looking savage—with all his men in padded

jackets, and regular fighting costume. He made no reply to the questions of our party about bullocks, but kept his hand on his kris, and appeared undecided how to act. Our party were only eight in number, and destitute of arms, with the exception of one gun, the kind behaviour of their friend the night before having completely removed all suspicion of any sinister behaviour. Surrounded now by about sixty well-armed, rascally-looking thieves, of hostile demeanour, they thought it best to put on as bold a front as possible, and at the same time quietly to retire ; nor did they underrate their good fortune in regaining the boat without further molestation, the ship being some miles distant, and shut out from view by projecting headlands. This was a lesson not to venture, in future, out of sight of the ship among the natives of these islands without an apparent superiority of force. Their white flags were hung out as much for the purpose of entrapping the weak, as of bartering with the strong.

Finding our wishes not likely to be attained, and not liking our berth, which was exposed to the eastward, we weighed, and ran round to the opposite side of Cagayan Soloo. This island, from its size and population, is next in importance to Soloo itself.

The scenery, which presented itself to us in these wanderings, was the perfection of tropical beauty, with just sufficient cultivation to redeem it from the appearance of wildness. As we ran past the cottages and small villages on the southern shore, the inhabitants shewed

great alacrity in displaying pieces of white cloth ; we ourselves keeping a white flag constantly flying, to signify our reciprocity of good feeling, and our desire to communicate with them.

Having stood out for the melancholy purpose of committing to the deep the body of a Marine, named Allan Cameron, a second victim within the last eight-and-forty hours to the Labuan fever, we came to an anchor on the south-west side, off the principal village of Cagayan Soloo, the shoalness of the water not allowing us to approach within three miles of the landing-place.

We encountered here none of the menacing style of the rogues on the eastern side ; the people were willing to exchange cattle, poultry, and vegetables, for our articles of barter—of which red and white cottons were the most attractive ; empty bottles and midshipman's anchor-buttons fetched their full value. The residents here described those on the east side as being bad people, and I have no doubt that the humpbacked ruffian, whom we had seen there, was some noted piratical chief, who by right of might had for a time located himself on the island. Had the party we landed been composed of our less reflecting young gentlemen, instead of the senior officers, the rude manner of these people would have been in some way resented, and the chief would have avenged the mischief we had so often inflicted on those of his craft, by krising the whole party. Had this occurred, they have

so many hiding-places, that we should have had much difficulty in finding the real offenders ; the whole island would in consequence have suffered, and unavoidably some of the innocent with the guilty. Our friends in the village gently opposed any attempts on our parts to penetrate into the interior, and were anxious to get rid of us before dark. As usual, the women were carefully kept out of sight.

Captain Sir Edward Belcher, in describing his voyage in these seas, mentions having discovered in the south side of Cagayan Soloo a circular inlet of very deep water, cut off from the sea by a shallow bar. Being very anxious to find this fathomless basin, we kept a good lookout from the mast-head ; and a spot answering the description having been observed in passing, it was determined to send an exploring party the next day. This was done ; and on their return they gave such a wonderful account of the before-named curious basin, as well as of its beauty, that it was decided we should return by this route from our cruise, and, anchoring close to the basin, take an opportunity to examine it more carefully. It was to be hoped that our invalid Rajah would, by that time, be sufficiently recovered to accompany us.

December 22nd.—Weighed, and stood towards Mambahenauan, a small island to the southward, intending to come to for the night, but found no anchorage ; so, the sea now being comparatively clear of shoals, we stood to the eastward.

On the 23rd, the currents being very uncertain, we found ourselves among a cluster of islands which the charts did not enable us to identify. As we were groping about seas very imperfectly surveyed, this neither astonished nor alarmed us; and, while a sandy beach offered itself for the seine, and a jungle for the gun,—Christmas, too, being at hand,—we selected an eligible spot, and came to an anchor.

On Christmas Day, after the usual routine of muster and church, the ship's company were allowed to land, taking with them their dinners and small arms, and seek amusement in their own way. They appeared to enjoy themselves a great deal more than they could have done if kept on board, even with a double allowance of grog. Although upwards of a hundred men had landed, none of them fell in with a native; nevertheless, natives could not be far off, inasmuch as poultry were found running about, besides other marks of domestic life and doings. Later, however, in the evening, when our people were returning on board, I myself landed with Mr. Lonsdale; and, having strolled to the opposite side of the island, we suddenly came upon a long canoe filled with natives, armed to the teeth, with spears and crises. They were stealthily pushing through a narrow creek that was overhung and partially hid by bushes. Our astonishment was, however, mutual. After a while, seeing probably that we were only two, they made signs for us to approach; but not liking the looks of them, although each had a

double-barrelled gun, we withdrew without further communication.

On the 26th, we got under weigh, our course lying through a very pretty archipelago, whose numerous shoals made the navigation doubly interesting. On the 27th, we sighted Soloo.

CHAPTER V.

TOOLYAN—BOLOD ISLANDS—ISLAND OF BASILAN—SAMBOANGAN—SOCIABLE SOCIETY—
 DEPARTURE FROM SAMBOANGAN—FLEET OF GUN-BOATS—CORAL ISLAND AND SEA
 BIRDS—CAGAYAN SOLOO—DISCOVERY OF A SECOND CIRCULAR LAKE, AND
 DESCRIPTION—DEPARTURE FOR BANGUEY—LABUAN—IMPROVEMENTS THERE—
 SINGAPORE—ORDERED TO CHINA—ARRIVAL AT HONG KONG.

THE island of Soloo, which equals Cagayan in beauty, surpasses it in the cultivated richness of its slopes, while an improved magnificence is communicated to it from the mountains in the interior. Its length, from east to west, is about ten leagues, and its breadth four. A good sprinkling on the sea of fishing and trading boats, of picturesque build and rig, gave to this place a pleasing appearance of life and animation, such as we had not before witnessed. It was late when we came to an anchor here ; but, the ship having been seen from the high land long before, we were not surprised by the appearance of some bustle taking place in the town : this was evidenced by the number of lights moving about throughout the night. We imagined, and found it afterwards to be the case, that they were removing their

valuables, with their women and children, to the mountains, as a precaution in the event of our visit being of a hostile nature.

The next morning we found ourselves off the city of Soloo (also named Soog), the capital of the Soloo Empire, and the abode of its Sultan,—who was at one time all-powerful throughout these seas, his influence extending to the north and eastern coasts of Borneo. I have already mentioned that, in 1775, the Soloos attacked and drove the British from Balambangan. Soloo had, even then, long been an emporium not only of regular traders from most nations, but the head-quarters of those piratical marauders who there found a ready market for enslaved victims and heterogeneous plunder—and whose descendants, to this day, are both proud and emulous of the deeds of their ancestors.

We had looked forward with much interest to our visit to Soloo, and were not, on the whole, disappointed—though, perhaps, it may be considered rather curious than very interesting. The English ensign was flying over the house which we at once knew must be that of Mr. Windham, a gentleman who had for some time been connected with these people in a commercial way, and resident among them. An officer was sent to communicate with him and obtain information. The town is built partly on land and partly on the sea. That part which is on the land, and which might almost be called the citadel, was, at the time of our visit, strongly

stockaded and flanked with batteries mounting heavy guns. The Spaniards have since destroyed these works and carried off the guns—a measure which is to be regretted. The Sultan, under the influence and counsel of the Rajah of Sarāwak, had become opposed to piracy, and anxious for its suppression. His fortified position gave him weight, which he had frequently thrown into the scale of humanity : and it must now be feared that many, whom he was able to hold in check, will again follow their evil propensities unrestrained, as they did under previous dynasties. The resentment of Spain, as visited on the Sultan of Soloo, seems equally impolitic and unjust. The pretext was piracy, of which some solitary instance may very possibly have been established against a Soloo prahu : but the Sultan was certainly sincere in his wish to co-operate against that system. There is ground to fear that national jealousy was desirous of striking its puny blow at an European rival, through the degradation of the Sultan of Soloo,—that he has incurred, in fact, the resentment of the Spanish colonial governors, by those commercial treaties with ourselves which were but lately concluded by Sir James Brooke.

That portion of the town which is not within the stockades is built in regular Malay fashion, on piles. The houses run in rows, or streets ; and outside of them is a platform about six feet wide to walk upon. This is supported underneath by a light scaffolding of bamboo. These rows of birdcage-looking buildings extend into the

sea for half a mile, over a shoal which is nearly dry at low water. The population is numerous ; composed principally of fishermen and Chinese traders. The said platform runs the whole length of the rows ; and its planks were so carelessly thrown across, that it seemed wonderful how the children could escape, if they always did escape, falling through the yawning spaces which invited them to a watery, or a muddy grave ; they were crawling about these ricketty stages in vast numbers : if the tide was out when they fell, they would be received into three feet deep of soft mud, supposing always that they did not break their little backs across the gunwales of the canoes beneath, which were made fast to the scaffolding. Mr. Windham's house was one of those thus situated ; and at low water it was necessary for us, who wore shoes and stockings, to be carried from the boat, and deposited on his accommodation-ladder, where a kind welcome awaited us. We found him dressed in Malay costume ; and, from long residence among them, he had assumed much of both the appearance and manner of a native. He willingly undertook the task of communicating with the Sultan, and arranging an audience for Sir James Brooke.

The usual salutes were exchanged. Mr. Windham informed us that a short time previously, when he was absent attending the pearl-fishing at the Ceruo Islands, two Dutch men-of-war had arrived at Soloo, who, after visiting and exchanging the usual salutes, suddenly

attacked the town : this accounted for the panic on the night of our arrival. The Dutchmen, having fired on the town for some time, landed and burnt a few houses, paying Mr. Windham the compliment of making particular inquiries for his, which they destroyed, with much valuable property. The watering-place deserves particular notice, —a lovely spot, about a mile and a half to the eastward of the town, in a small bight of white sand. The water, after being filtered through some hundred yards of porous rock, came welling out in several places through the sand, about high-water mark, and as clear as crystal. On one side of this little bay, and close to the springs, grew a magnificent tree of, I think, the Banyan species, throwing its shade over an acre of ground. It was a striking object; and served as the trysting-tree, where on market-days the mountaineers met the townspeople, to exchange commodities. A mutual distrust appeared to subsist between them, the highlanders seldom going into the town, nor the townsmen to the mountains.

The country people are tributary to the Sultan, though often refractory subjects; and a system of clanship appears to prevail amongst them. Mr. Windham pointed out to us a spot on the beach, between the watering-place and the town, as the scene of public executions; he also informed us that the capital crime most abhorred and most severely punished—on the system, as we supposed, of “honour amongst thieves”—was theft. The criminal being bound to a frame-work, resembling St. Andrew’s

cross, is cut up with a kris at the discretion of the executioners, any one being at liberty to exercise his taste that way: death is thus rendered either lingering or instantaneous, according as the victim may be the object of popular dislike or sympathy. A real friend would dispatch him at once. Women frequently take advantage of such an opportunity of avenging themselves for some real or imaginary injury, addressing the unfortunate wretch, as they detach pieces of flesh from his body, in terms little suitable to the "softer sex." With the identical kris which Mr. Windham then wore,—and a desperate-looking blade it had, of a wavy form and as sharp as a razor,—he had seen a man, at one blow, cut open from the shoulder to the heart. The bodies, or fragments (for some carry their revenge so far as to mutilate the remains after life is extinct), are left to be devoured by dogs and wild pigs.

Mr. Windham took us a short walk—I fancy about as far as he dared himself venture—into the interior. What we saw of the country was highly cultivated; consisting, with intervals of jungle, of pasture grounds and gardens, very flourishing and pretty, with abundance of cattle. Our appearance excited much curiosity with the natives, and many questions were asked; but the presence and explanations of Mr. Windham satisfied them.

Before commencing our watering, it was necessary to make certain arrangements, as a French squadron under Admiral Cecille had been much molested during that

operation a short time previous, and an attempt had been made to poison the springs ; all necessary precautions, therefore, were taken on our part.

The *Jolly Bachelor* was first placed a few yards from the watering-place, which her howitzers completely covered. Our people were then strictly charged to avoid offending the natives in any way during their casual intercourse ; under these auspices, our watering progressed quickly and well.

The day after we had commenced was a market-day. The mountaineers came down in parties of from six to twelve, mounted on well-formed little horses, or oxen, according to their rank and means ; on these they sat with graceful ease, spear in hand—they were all well armed besides, with shield and kris ; in some instances also we observed the heavy two-handed Lanun sword. They had a wild and independent bearing ; and, when seen in groups, some standing, some squatting, the women all chattering, under the wide-spreading tree, they much increased the interest of the already picturesque scene. They seemed indifferent as to the sale of their stock, which was conducted chiefly by the women, who freely accompanied them, and were by no means ill-favoured. The townspeople, who met and traded with these mountaineers, were dressed in gayer colours, but not so well armed. The stock brought by the latter was small—a few fowls, eggs, vegetables, and fruit being their staple commodities ; these were exchanged for cottons,

tinsels, and other baubles. Altogether, though the market on this occasion was well attended, the trade was slack ; but I doubt not that, in the palmy days of active piracy, a considerable amount of business was transacted under the old Banyan tree.

The fruit at Soloo is plentiful and good ; the mangoes are not so good as those in the Phillippine Islands, but the oranges are equal to those of China or of any other country. There is the jack and bread-fruit tree, the far-famed mangostein, also the pine-apple, and the highly-prized, but offensive smelling durian ; cocoa nuts of course, and a great variety of plantain and banana, and others whose names I forget. Cinnamon, ginger, and various spices likewise grow ; in fact, the soil appeared capable of producing whatever the natives might take the trouble to cultivate.

We did not consider it prudent to venture into the interior on shooting excursions, but we heard that there were partridges and quail, wild ducks, snipe, and teal. Monkeys, doves, and pigeons we saw. The beef we found particularly good. We went to see what they call their races, which were held in an open space not far from the town. We observed groups of savage, but picturesque-looking men, mounted on spirited, strong-built little horses, of the Manilla or Spanish breed ; these men were generally well armed, bearing each a spear or lance. Presently, one man would dash out from the rest as a challenge ; then a man from another group, or perhaps from the same,

would ride up alongside ; then both would start off in a line of their own choosing, at a brisk trot, at which kind of pace the races were generally contested. On several occasions I noticed a ruffian, apparently mounted no better than his neighbours, start out from the crowd,—still no one seemed to accept the challenge. These men I found were a sort of bravo, whom nobody cared to quarrel with, which such an offence as beating them at a race would be sure to end in. When any of these known characters came out, they were loudly cheered by the spectators. Their seat and gait were awkward in the extreme, but they did not seem to think so, and I should not have willingly ventured to tell them so.

December 30th was the day appointed for Sir James Brooke's interview with the Sultan of Soloo. We landed in full costume at ten o'clock. Having walked over the sea suburbs, and arrived at the beach, we found a guard of honour and attendants waiting to conduct Sir James to the Sultan's presence : they were a motley group, but made themselves useful in clearing the way.

Passing within the outer stockade, we arrived, after a few minutes' walk, at the royal residence. It was walled in and fortified : a large space was inclosed by double rows of heavy piles driven into the earth, about five feet apart, and the space was filled up with large stones and earth, making a very solid wall of about fifteen feet in height, having embrasures, or rather port-holes, in convenient places for cannon,—out of which we noticed the rusty

muzzles of some very heavy guns protruding. A great part of the town was stockaded in a similar way ; and the country houses of the Datus and mountain chiefs of any importance were also walled in, and had guns mounted.

Passing through a massive gateway, pretty well flanked with guns and loopholes, we entered a large court, in which some two thousand persons were assembled, armed, and in their best apparel, but observing no sort of order : it was a wild and novel sight. Malays are always armed. The kris to them is what the sword was to an English gentleman in the feudal times. Every person who, by virtue of his rank or on any other pretext, could gain admittance, was in attendance on this occasion ; for our Rajah had become a justly celebrated man in the great Eastern Archipelago, and was an object of curiosity.

We were conducted through the crowd to a corner of the court-yard, where a building, inferior to a small English barn, was pointed out as the Sultan's palace. We entered it by a flight of broad wooden steps (for the palace was raised on piles), through a narrow passage thronged with guards,—and we found ourselves in the royal presence.

The audience-chamber was not very large : a table, covered with green cloth, ran across the centre of it ; above the table, and round the upper end of the room, sat a very brilliant semicircle of personages, the Sultan occupying a raised seat in the middle. The *cortége*

consisted of his Grand Vizier, the members of the royal family, and the great Datus and officers of State. Behind these stood the guards and attendants, dressed in silks, the colours being according to the fancy of their respective masters.

The Sultan gave us a gracious reception, shaking hands with each officer as he was presented. This ceremony over, chairs were placed for Sir James and his suite ; while those of our party, who could not get seats, formed a semicircle on the other side of the table. The scene was striking and gay.

The Sultan is a young-looking man, but with a dull and vacant expression, produced by the too free use of opium : his lips were red with the mixture of betel-nut and cere-leaf, which he chewed.

He was dressed in rich silks, red and green the predominant colours. A large jewel sparkled in his turban, and he wore jewels also profusely on his person.

The hilt of his kris, the great distinguishing ornament of all Malays, was beautifully decorated with gold wire, curiously twisted in. Immediately behind the Sultan, in closest attendance on his person, stood the *cup-bearer*, a fine young man dressed in green silk, who held in his hand a purple finger-glass, which was constantly held to his royal master's mouth, to receive the filthy-looking mixture which is in such favour with these people,—composed of the juice of the betel leaf, with the areca-nut and gambier. The other personages composing the circle

were dressed with equal gaudiness, in bright silks ; in the selection, however, of their colours they displayed considerable taste. Many of the guards were dressed in very ancient chain-armour, consisting of skull-caps and tunics, covering the arms and reaching from the throat to the knee.

Those armed with sword, spear, and kris did not look amiss ; but two sentries, placed to guard the entrance to this ancient hall of audience, each shouldering a very shabby-looking old Tower musket, of which they looked very proud, had an absurd effect.

After a reasonable time passed by each party in admiration of the other, the conversation was opened by Sir James Brooke, who, as Her Majesty's Commissioner in these regions, submitted to the Sultan certain propositions on matters of business.

To these His Majesty expressed his willingness to accede ; and he graciously reminded Sir James that the royal family of Soloo were under considerable obligations to the English ; inasmuch as his great grand-father, Sultan Amir, having been once upon a time imprisoned by the Spaniards in the fortress of Manilla, was delivered from durance vile and reinstated on the throne of his ancestors by Alexander Dalrymple,—A.D. 1763. This was now the more liberal on the part of His Majesty, because his royal ancestor had not at the time allowed the service to be altogether unrequited ; for he ceded to the English Government a fine island adjoining Soloo (of

which, by the bye, no use appears to have been made), together with the north end of Borneo and the south end of Palawan, with the intervening islands.

At length we took leave of His Majesty, retiring in much the same order as that in which we had entered. Although no actual treaty was concluded with the Sultan, Sir James paved the way for opening up commerce, and for cultivating a better understanding with the natives.

In the afternoon we visited one Datu Daniel, a powerful chief, very friendly, and well disposed towards the English. His stronghold was at a short distance in the country, at the foot of one of the mountain slopes, fortified in much the same way as the Sultan's, but on a smaller scale ; his stockades were, however, quite as strong, and his guns in better order. His enclosed court, being likewise a farm-yard with a good supply of live stock, looked as if he was better prepared than his royal master to stand a long siege : his wives looked happy, his children merry ; and, on the whole, his domestic life appeared tolerably comfortable.

The terms, on which the Sultan appeared to live with his great vassals, very much resembled the feudal system of the Middle Ages.

The fact, that any man putting his foot on British soil becomes free, and that the deck of a man-of-war was all the same as British soil, seemed to be "a dodge" perfectly understood by the Soloo chiefs ; and, during the stay of

Her Majesty's ship *Mæander*, all the slaves were carefully locked up like other live stock, with the exception of a few old servants, who, having received such long-continued kindness as to be slaves in name only, were trusted by their masters. Gratitude, however, is as rare in Soloo as elsewhere ; and about a dozen of these faithful well-fed slaves were fools enough to find their way on board the *Mæander*, to be landed at the next port at which we might touch, and there to starve as free men. Their usual plan was to sneak alongside at night, cling hold of the chain-plates, kick the canoe adrift—which they had in all probability stolen—and then make a noise until helped up the side, when they imagined themselves Britishers. Every one of these whom we questioned appeared to have been treated by their owners with the greatest confidence and kindness.

Considering that Soloo was the great commercial centre of these seas, we were surprised at not seeing more large prahus ; there were none afloat, and very few hauled up ; the number, however, of building-sheds and blacksmiths' forges showed that they have the means of starting into activity at short notice.

Mr. Windham had been trying to persuade the Soloos to bear a flag with a St. George's Cross in their trading prahus, as a badge of peaceful mercantile occupation, by which they might be known to our cruisers ; but this suggestion had not yet been adopted.

We quitted the Soloo capital with some regret, and ran

down the coast, intending to visit the island of Toolyan, said to belong to the English. The scenery, although there was no Kini-Balu for a back-ground, was more beautiful than any we had yet seen, and quite answers to the following description by Mr. Hunt: "There are few landscapes in the world that exhibit a more delightful appearance than the sea-coasts of Soloo; the luxuriant variety of the enchanting hills exhibits a scenery hardly ever equalled, and certainly never surpassed by the pencil of the artist. Some with majestic woods that wave their lofty heads to the very summits; others with rich pasturage delightfully verdant, with here and there patches burnt for cultivation, which form an agreeable contrast with enamelled meads; others, again, exhibit cultivation to the mountain-top, chequered with groves affording a grateful variety to the eye;—in a word, it only requires the decorations of art and civilised life to form a terrestrial paradise." It was dark before we anchored off the island of Toolyan. Our arrival caused the same consternation as at Soloo, the same noise, and flitting about of lights; until one fine fellow, braver than the rest, determined to risk his life for the good of the community and paddled himself alongside, when our pacific intentions were made known, and confidence was at once established.

This island is separated from Soloo by a narrow strait. It appeared well cultivated,—the people industrious, and much more peaceably inclined than their neighbours. There were gardeners on shore, and fishermen afloat,

ready to supply our wants in their respective departments ; we did not, however, trouble them, but proceeded, after a short visit, on our course for Samboangan.

The excitement and interest of our voyage rather increasing as we proceeded, on the 5th we anchored off the Bolod Islands, and landed to search for the eggs of a bird, which from the description given to us we supposed to be the *Megapodius*. In this we were unsuccessful, some natives having not long before visited these islands for the same purpose. We found some heaps of rubbish, comprising sea-weed, stones, and sticks, which had evidently constituted the materials of these birds' nests. A description of this singular bird and of its nest, from the more able pen of my friend the Rajah of Sarāwak, will be found in a later portion of this work.

On the 8th, we anchored off the west coast of the island of Basilan,—the largest of the Soloo Archipelago,—on which the Spaniards have established a small settlement, though not without much trouble, the inhabitants being hostile and warlike, and keeping their garrison constantly on the alert. The French squadron, under Admiral Cecille, sustained some loss in an attack by boats on a part of this island. The next day we worked our way between numerous small, but beautiful islands, only regretting that we had not time to explore them. At 9 P.M. we came to, in eleven fathoms, off the fort of Samboangan ; and on the following morning we saluted the Spanish flag. The settlement is on the south part

of the southernmost island of the Phillippine group, and its population is reinforced by convicts sent from Manilla. It is situated near the great Lanun Bay, the inhabitants of which are the fiercest and most warlike of all these islanders, and are celebrated for their piratical propensities. There is no part of the great Eastern Archipelago, as far even as the Malacca Straits, that has not, at some time or another, suffered from these freebooters. Samboangan has a strong fort ; the gun-boats are very efficient, and keep this part of the Soloo sea in tolerable order. Our tender, having arrived before us, had already exchanged civilities with the authorities, and prepared them for our visit.

The town is extensive, and is, with the exception of the residences of the officials, built in the native fashion.

We much enjoyed a few days in this comparatively civilised place. Owing to the clever management, as well as the good taste, of the Governor, Don Cayetano de Figueroa, Colonel of engineers, a very sociable system of society prevailed, uniting all classes,—the proud Spanish dames not refusing to meet in the same ball-room the pretty half-caste girls, who during the mornings were engaged in washing the officers' clothes, or retailing eggs and poultry in the market.

The hospitality of the Governor provided for us, at his own residence early every morning, first a cup of excellent chocolate ; and after our light breakfast, horses being in readiness, he would kindly accompany us in

some picturesque ride, conducting us by the most interesting routes, and pointing out everything worth seeing. The settlement of Samboangan lies within narrow boundaries.

The sovereignty of these islands is claimed by the Spaniards; but it would scarcely have been prudent to venture farther into the interior than the first range of mountains, in reliance on the protection of any civilised power, inasmuch as a very hostile attitude is still maintained by the "ultramontane" aborigines.

In the immediate vicinity of the town the land was highly cultivated, and the scenery very picturesque, with a pleasing variety of extensive pasture grounds. In our rides we were generally attended by boys carrying our guns, the woods abounding in varieties of doves and pigeons.

We had dances and dinners on shore and on board, and it was at length with no small regret on our parts, that we took leave of our kind and hospitable friends.

There is much in these regions to interest the conchologist, and to reward his patient researches among the rocks and sea-weeds. Finding that I was a collector in this pleasing department of natural history, the officers of the Spanish Marine freely supplied me from their own stores with some very beautiful additions to my cabinet, especially of the *Spondylus* and *Chama*.

On the 14th of January we left Samboangan, getting

under weigh in company with such a fleet of gun-boats as would have done credit to any nation.

It must be confessed that, in *systematic* protection to the commerce of their respective seas, both Spain and Holland infinitely surpass our own country, so far as she has at present shown any determination to crush this evil in the latitudes where English influence alone could do so. The Spaniards, alive to the truth that commerce and piracy cannot co-exist, have long maintained such a naval force as has not only driven away, but *keeps* at a distance from the Phillippine Islands, those hordes who used to inflict on their marine traffic such sacrifice of life and merchandise. Some of the most formidable hordes now existing are composed of, or maintained by, fugitive princes and nobles, who have been, by Spanish vigilance, chased away from the Bay of Magindano, and other places within the protection of that flag. The Dutch, true to the same policy, and perhaps even more happy in its exercise, have, by a system of energetic vigilance along the whole coast of Java, not only to a great extent eradicated piracy from the Celebes, but have in many instances converted freebooters into fishermen, murderers into merchants or agriculturists. What becomes, however, of the remnant—of those for whom, as a vocation, murder and rapine have superior charms? They, of course, must find a *sea of impunity*; establish themselves on the least protected coast—the least cared-for expanse of ocean; where, if they ever do happen to surpass themselves in

atrocities, punishment is so uncertain, and, when it does fall, so transient, as just to add the charm of speculation and excitement to the other charms of piracy. Casting about for such an eligible cruising-ground, the expelled of the Philippines and the Celebes find it exactly to their mind in those seas where commerce has the strongest claims to the protection of the British flag—the flag of that humane, incredulous nation, which will believe no harm of those poor men in “boats,”* and will take a strict account of any one who injures them.

Surely when Spain, whose trade is so insignificant, compared with ours,—when Holland, whose trade, if it equals, certainly does not exceed our own,—when these nations find it true economy to provide systematically and effectually against the evils of piracy, surely England, the nation of shopkeepers, mistress of the seas — England who expends her millions in a more doubtful cause on the coast of Africa—might expend something (and I think it need not be much) in a cause which offers more substantial temptations, which promises, on the experience of other nations, more satisfactory results, which *involves* questions of *slavery and massacre*, and which demands of us in the name of commerce and humanity such *permanent* arrangements, as shall make it impossible for any of those communities within our reach,—and where would they be beyond it, if we were in earnest?—to gain so much by a lawless

* “It appeared, from the class of boats used by the Dyaks, that it was impossible they could be pirates.”—MR. HUMPHREYS.

and desperate vocation as to encourage them to persist in it, against our unsparing and inevitable visitations.

Of the achievements of Spain in this righteous cause we have no such detailed particulars as Holland has furnished us, in the instructive compilation of M. De Groot.

From this I hastily set down a few passages, which may be at once our shame and our encouragement ; although, from the occasional tone of the document, it would appear that the Dutch are not very earnest in desiring our co-operation : commercial jealousy seems to suggest to them some counterbalancing evil :—

“ In the year 1826 the Dutch force engaged in this service alone was, two corvettes, eight large brigs, five small brigs, eighteen gunboats—of which the Dutch Admiral reports, that it has answered the end for which it was instituted, having *scattered* as much as possible the numerous and formidable pirates. . . . We are surrounded by small islands, which are so many nests of pirates ; but our *uninterrupted cruising*s have prevented them from making descents upon our coasts, and carrying off the inhabitants to their haunts as slaves ; and they have successfully protected the coasting trade.”
—Page 79.

“ In order to meet the evils of piracy in the Indian Archipelago, the Dutch Governor-General equipped a flotilla of schooners, of small draft of water, which, at fixed periods, in concert with the ships of the Royal and Colonial Navy, undertook expeditions against the pirates. *Every year* they followed them up even to their haunts, to make an example of them, to burn their ships, to carry off their arms, and to spread terror and confusion among the pirates themselves.”—Page 81.

“ We do not well understand,” says an able pamphlet quoted by

M. de Groot, "how the Dutch Government of India *can* have acted with too much rigour against bandits, who do not content themselves with plundering and capturing vessels and merchandise, but who sell as slaves, or mercilessly massacre, all whom they find on board their vessels."—Page 105.

"Four hundred pirates," says a Dutch Report of 1836—1840, "were established as agriculturists at Saleyer, to the south of Celebes. The pirates to the north of Borneo were punished. The English intervention prevented more being done in these countries."—Page 103.

"These forces do not, as formerly, meet in the islands of Bouton. Their power has gradually increased to the south of the Archipelago; and it is astonishing what a number of prahus are there at present. I attribute it to the great number of losses they have sustained on the coast of Celebes and the neighbouring islands for some years past. The defeat which they experienced in 1827, near Tana Tjampea, convinced them that, on every other point of the coast of Celebes or its neighbourhood, they would be exposed to similar surprises, and could no longer reckon on a sure retreat in those latitudes. On watching their movements since then, it will be easily observed that the pirates have no longer a fixed place of meeting, as if they had not yet determined on a convenient spot from which to start. It is, no doubt, of paramount importance to them to choose a well-situated spot for their sphere of action, *at a distance from our power*."—Page 94.

"Wherever *our* power cannot extend, the slave-trade is still possible, and piracy, committed with the object of carrying away human beings, has not yet ceased."—Page 119.

"Even the English papers have often rendered justice to the zeal and efficacious measures of the Dutch Government to suppress piracy in the Indian Archipelago; and the comparison drawn by these papers, between the efforts made in favour of that cause by the British Government and our own, is not in favour of the

English. . . . The success of the measures adopted will cause the name of the Dutch to be held in honour among commercial nations. But piracy has taken too deep root in the Indian Archipelago to render the power and good-will of the Dutch Government sufficient to eradicate it.”—Page 120.*

The whole system of piracy, throughout that part of the Eastern Archipelago in which we are interested, might be effectually suppressed, the trade protected, and the duties of the Malacca Straits performed, at a cost not equalling that of the ships of war occasionally employed on that station ; but I repeat that the force so employed must be permanent.

It is difficult to calculate the good that might be done, the benefit that would accrue to the cause of humanity, and the vast trade that would as assuredly spring up, were protection thus secured to it by the right description of force, judiciously applied under an intelligent and active officer.

The position of Sir James Brooke, and his experience, would render his co-operation most valuable, and I am sure it would be always readily afforded.

Without some such measures, I am equally assured that all our late operations will soon have been in vain ; and, in proportion as the proceedings of other nations are well organised, we shall suffer by the incompleteness of our own.

On the 16th January, observing a sand-bank to the

* Parliamentary Paper relating to Piracies in the Indian Archipelago, 1851.

north-west not mentioned in Horsburgh nor in any of our charts, we hauled up, intending to anchor near it, and ascertain its correct position. We gradually reduced the quantity of sail set, as we neared the island ; and so, with the leads going in the chains, look-out men at the mast-head, and an occasional cast of the deep-sea lead, we approached the lee-side, and got within cable's length of the beach without obtaining bottom at 120 fathoms. A line of breakers with overfalls extended off the north-west end, having the appearance of a shelf of rocks ; but these proved to be nothing but a tide ripple, as we stood into them. The island was very small, and had the same appearance all round. On landing, we found a patch of glaring white sand without a vestige of vegetation, surrounded by a belt of coral about a mile and a half in circumference, and so steep that I believe we might have rubbed the sides of the *Mæander* against it, without obtaining bottom with the hand-leads. The centre was covered with a variety of sea-birds ; their new-laid eggs proved excellent eating. The birds themselves were in every stage of growth—from the little gaping nudity, just introduced into the world, to the old full-grown guardians of their progeny, which shrieked and hovered over our heads, disputing our landing so pertinaciously that we were obliged to knock them down with sticks, while on the wing, two or three at a time.

We found on this lonely coral island the solitary grave of a Mussulman. Here was, indeed, a resting-place likely

to be undisturbed ; a spot where the pilgrim of any creed,

“ His life being weary of these worldly bars,
Might wish for power to dismiss itself,”

or, as the Koran hath it, “might envy the quiet dead, and say, Would to God I were in thy place.” Nevertheless, a sublimer grave than the coral rock—according to my idea—was close at hand. There can scarcely be a moment more impressive than when “we commit a body to the *deep* ; *there* to look for the resurrection of the body, when the *sea* shall give up its dead.” No doubt, however, an earthly—even a coral—tomb had superior recommendations for the Mussulman. He could repose in the right position for his *prophet’s* tomb ; he could have at his head the well-known symbol of the turban, rudely carved, in this instance, out of a piece of wood. Above all, those who closed his eyes could also prepare him by their friendly prompting for the interrogation of the examining angels. “When they say to thee, ‘Who is thy Lord?’ answer, ‘God is my Lord,’ in truth ; and when they ask thee concerning thy prophet, say unto them, ‘Mahomet is the Apostle of God,’ with veracity ; and when they ask thee concerning thy religion, say unto them, ‘Islamism is my religion ;’ and when they ask thee concerning thy book of direction, say to them, ‘The Koran is my book of direction—and I have lived and died in the assertion that there is no deity but God ; and Mahomet is God’s Apostle.’—And *they* will say, ‘Sleep, O servant of God, in the protection of God.’” Had the deceased

son of Islam been committed to the deep, he would probably have reached one of the "dark unfathom'd caves of ocean," before these instructions could have been pronounced from the funeral rites of the Mahometan. I have often watched the ominous-looking mass, as it sunk slowly, with a gentle swing from side to side, down the transparent depths, until it disappeared in the abyss, and left the most thoughtless of those whose eyes had followed it solemnly—and not always transiently—fixed on the realities of that purer faith which accompanies the CHRISTIAN sailor round the world. I believe that not a few may refer to a sailor's funeral for the time when they first said, "God is my Lord," in truth ; and "The son of God is *my* prophet," in veracity ; and, taking *His* faith for their religion, and *His* Book for their "Book of direction," have lived and died, so that the devout Mahometan shall not shame them on the day when all shall meet.

" Qui nescit orare,
Discat navigare."

Graceless art thou as to pray'r ?
Go to sea—thou'lt learn it there.

"According to the Moslem creed, the souls of the faithful hover, in a state of seraphic tranquillity, near their tombs. Hence, the Moslem usage of visiting the graves of their departed friends, in the idea that their souls are the gratified witnesses of these testimonials of affection." *

* Washington Irving.

Not very likely is it that the tenant of the coral rock will often receive this pleasure from the friend who closed his eyes. The wild screams of the sea-birds seemed singularly incompatible with seraphic tranquillity.

We made the shoal in latitude $8^{\circ} 4' 34''$ N., and $119^{\circ} 17' 30''$ E. longitude.

On the 17th, we came to, in ten fathoms, about a mile off the south side of Cagayan, and immediately commenced our examination of the curious circular lake before mentioned, of which we had reserved the examination for this opportunity. The entrance is by a gap about fifty yards wide ; this, however, is crossed by a bank of coral, which extends along the whole south coast, and at low water is nearly dry, so as to exclude any boat larger than a canoe. Just outside the middle of the bar was a small island of rock and sandstone, with a sufficient shelter of bushes to make an excellent shaded spot for our pic-nic. On passing the bar, we found ourselves inside a magnificent circular lake of deep blue water ; its circumference was about three miles. It was completely encircled by sandstone cliffs, upwards of 200 feet in height, and nearly perpendicular : their sides were covered with trees and shrubs. In the natural barriers of this remarkable enclosure only two small breaks occurred ; one was the gap by which we entered ; the other was on the E.N.E. side.

From the inside, the little island at the entrance had all the appearance of having once filled the gap, and

looked as if it had been forced out into the sea by some internal pressure. The break which I mentioned on the north-east side did not come lower than within seventy or eighty feet of the water's edge, and was partially concealed by the thick foliage of the jungle and forest-trees. In sounding, we found the depth of water to vary from fifty to sixty fathoms, and it appeared to be as deep at the sides as in the centre. Nothing could be more beautifully luxuriant than the growth of the jungle-trees of every description, their trunks and branches covered with an endless variety of beautiful creepers in brilliant blossom, hanging in festoons to the very water's edge. Over our heads, disturbed by such unusual visitors, numbers of pigeons flew to and fro; while many varieties of the parrot screamed their remonstrances at our intrusion. Forming ourselves into small parties, we dispersed—some to haul the seine, some to search for shells, while a third party explored the gap on the north-east side, clambering up without any anticipation of a further treat which was in reserve for them. At a height of about ninety feet, another beautiful lake burst on their astonished sight, circular in form, and as nearly as possible similar to that which they had just left. The two lakes were separated by a sort of natural wall; and the spectator standing on its narrow edge could, by a mere turn of the head, look down either on the inner lake at a depth of thirty feet, or on the outer eighty feet beneath him, almost perpendicularly. The water of the higher or inner

lake was perfectly fresh ; but it may be observed that while it is called the *inner* lake, because we approached it *through* the other, it is, in fact, very little further inland than the first.

This grand discovery being communicated to the other rambling parties, curiosity became here concentrated. Men and axes were procured from the ship ; the trees were cut down, and a road made up the gap, and so over to the fresh-water lake. A raft was then constructed, and, together with a small boat belonging to the tender, was very shortly launched upon the upper water.

Our operations soon drew some of the natives to the spot, who expostulated on our proceedings, informing us that the waters of the lake were sacred, and had never yet been desecrated by the presence or by the pressure of an earthly canoe ; that the Spirit of the Lake (by description a Fiery Dragon of the worst order) would not fail to manifest his displeasure at the innovation ; and that nothing would induce them to venture on it. These scruples were, however, got over by one of them after he had swallowed a glass of grog.

It was not until we were afloat on the inner lake, that we were enabled to form a correct idea of the beauty of its encircling barriers, and of the luxuriant vegetation which graced them. We had then also the best view of the extraordinary gap through which we had passed into it. The sandstone cliffs were more perpendicular on the fresh-water side, assuming the appearance of massive

REFRESH WITH JAKE 'A' VIAN 'A' - (

masonry ; and the gap might be a large portal, a hundred feet in height, broken through the immense stone wall. The creepers also were hence seen to great advantage, some of them falling in most beautiful luxuriance the whole length from the summit of the surrounding heights to the water's edge. The lake may at one time, by some convulsion, have risen and burst through its barriers at this spot into the lower basin ; which in turn may, by a similar process, have formed the gap in the outer side, and then subsided to its present sea level. Such was the appearance which it had to us.

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xistence of the far more wonderful
e is no knowing how far even a

member of the Royal Yacht squadron may extend his roving in these days of enterprise. I may commend, therefore, to the excursionist in the Soloo sea a visit to this our interesting discovery, certain that he will thank me for so doing.

A ship may obtain good fresh water from a small trickling stream, which permeates through the barrier, near the gap, into the basin below ; but it should be so arranged that the laden boats pass the coral reef off the coast, before the tide falls too low.

On the 20th, we took up our old berth in the south-west bay of Cagayan Soloo, and commenced an active barter for stock ; this, however, was brought to a sudden conclusion on the 22nd, the natives taking fright at our shell practice. We were exercising at general quarters, and a few of them had remained to see the shot strike the target ; but the double report produced by these missiles, and the shower of perils which they emit at last, were on the whole too much for Soloo nerves ; and so they left us.

Sailed on the 23rd, making for the northward of Banguey ; and, having anchored occasionally, on the 26th we ran between that island and Balambangan, and again came to, near the remnant of the wreck of the *Minerva*.

On the 28th, we came to in Victoria Bay, Labuan ; and soon after we landed our Governor, restored to comparative health.

Much had been done during our short absence. More comfortable residences had been erected on the higher

ground ; and that great step towards civilisation, a good road, had been made to the buildings on the plain, which were now only used as offices.

The troops were comfortable and contented.

Mr. Low, whom we had left in an apparently dying state, had under the care of his amiable wife so far recovered as to be able to superintend the cultivation of the portion of ground allotted to him ; and, although the soil was not superior, enough had been accomplished to prove that it was capable of producing all tropical fruits and vegetables.

Deer and wild hog were plentiful ; few, however, had been killed ; although, in Captain Hamilton, the garrison contained one of the keenest and best sportsmen in the East.

The communication with the coal district, which was the great attraction, was still by water only. Until ceded to the Eastern Archipelago Company, the coal seam had been rented by an adventurer named Miles, once Lloyd, who had managed to enrich himself by picking merely the surface of the seam close to the water's edge, and selling it for the use of the Government steamers at the rate of £1 per ton.

On the 30th, we sailed for Sincapore.

On the 2nd of February, in running between the Anambas Islands, of which we had in our possession a recent French survey, we suddenly observed breakers a-head, and had barely time to sheer clear of a small and

dangerous shoal which had escaped the vigilance of Monsieur Paris, of *La Favorite*. Its position, by cross bearings, was Tokong Island N.N.E., Sra Island W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.

On the 3rd, we again anchored in Singapore Roads. We here found orders to proceed to China, the Commander-in-Chief thinking it advisable to have a force ready, in case the Government should think it necessary to enforce the treaty made with the Chinese Government by Sir John Davis, in 1847, by which the gates of the city of Canton were to be opened to strangers.

This treaty was likely to be disregarded by the Chinese, according to opportunity, when the immediate danger should be removed, having been made at the bayonet's point, while our troops were in possession of the environs of the Imperial city. There was now among its population a growing disposition to dispute with their Government the idea of admitting the Barbarians of the outer waters.

Having received on board, through the cabin windows, a huge spar 96 feet in length, to make a government flag-staff, with a topmast and yard to match—which no other ship on the station could or would carry,—we sailed on the 17th for China. We shaped our course so as to communicate with Sarāwak and Labuan, and worked up the Palawan coast.

We then steered for the Pratas, and made that dangerous shoal N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. from the mast head on the morning of the 29th March, having been set twenty-five miles to the westward during the night. The

following day at noon, we ran into Hong Kong by the Lyemooon passage. In addition to the *Hastings*, flag-ship, we found many of the China squadron, comprising the *Scout*, *Pilot*, *Columbine*, *Albatross*, sloops ; with the *Fury* and *Inflexible*, steamers. We were shocked to hear that our worthy and respected chief, Sir Francis Collier, had sustained a paralytic stroke.

The 10th April arriving—the day on which the gates of Canton should have been opened, and perhaps would have been, had the Canton mob been kept in the same subjection as the London mob was on that famous day—the Admiral, finding that there was no intention on the part of our Government to enforce the Davis Treaty, sailed in the *Inflexible* to visit the northern ports ; he ordered the *Hastings* to Sincapore, dispersed the sloops—the *Albatross* to Borneo, and the others to their respective stations at the ports in China, which were opened to trade by the Pottinger Treaty. The *Mæander* was left to take care of Hong Kong.

CHAPTER VI.

PIRACY IN THE CHINA SEAS—REGATTA AT MACAO—IMPRISONMENT OF MR. SUMMERS
—INTERVIEW ON THE SUBJECT WITH THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNOR—MEASURES
TAKEN FOR THE LIBERATION OF MR. SUMMERS—THIS SUBJECT REVIEWED—
PARTICULARS OF THE ASSASSINATION OF GOVERNOR DO AMARAL, AND SUBSEQUENT
EVENTS—EXPLOSION OF THE DONA MARIA FRIGATE.

Nothing unusual took place during our stay here. Various acts of piracy, attended with cruel murders, occurred between Hong Kong and the entrance to the Canton River; but this could not be called unusual. Some of the rogues were taken by the *Inflexible*, and six fellows were hanged at West Point; but so little effect had this example, that a fresh act of piracy was committed within sight of the suspended corpses, and within range of the sentry's musket.

The Admiral returned in the *Fury* on the 20th of May, much benefited by his trip to the northern ports. He sailed again on the 26th, leaving us to await the arrival of the *Amazon* from England. She came in on the following day, and we prepared to return to our old station in the Eastern Archipelago: but before our

departure an event occurred, which gave an unanticipated notoriety to our short sojourn here. Were I to pass it unnoticed, my motive might be mistaken; but as the narrative must unavoidably be egotistical, and the subject has perhaps lost its general interest,—my readers may now pass to the next chapter, who have no inclination to discuss a point of international law, nor to see how it was decided, for the occasion at least, by a British boat's-crew and a party of Marines.

Just before the arrival of the *Amazon*, I received an invitation through my young friend, Mr. Robert Ellice (Honorary Secretary on the occasion), to act as joint umpire with Commodore Geisinger of the United States at a regatta which had been got up chiefly by Mr. Bush, the United States Consul at Hong Kong,—he kindly giving a cup to be sailed for. The event was to come off, weather permitting, on the 8th of June. To this proposal I cheerfully acceded. As the *Medea*, Commander Lockyer, was cruising outside for the suppression of piracy, and the *Columbine*, Commander John Dalrymple Hay, was coming down from Whampoa about that time for provisions,—I wrote to each of these officers, inviting them to meet me; and, as I had to give up the charge of the station to Captain Troubridge of the *Amazon* (which could be done as well at Macao), we all agreed to meet there on the 7th. The American squadron, consisting of the *Plymouth*, the *Peebles*, and the *Dolphin*, added to our own, made a gay show in the roads: the Hong Kong

steamers were also called into requisition, and brought nearly all those who had not found their way in the men-of-war.

Having fired the usual salute on arrival, I proceeded with Captain Troubridge on the following morning, to pay our respects to the Governor, Don Joao Maria Ferreira do Amaral.

I may here mention that he was a Captain in the Portuguese navy, a gallant and distinguished officer. He lost his right arm by a cannon-shot, when eighteen years of age, while leading a storming party at Itaparica, in Brazil. He had also served in the fleet of Don Pedro, under Sir Charles Napier. He spoke and understood English as well as we did.

He received us most cordially ; and in the course of conversation said that he had broken through a rule, by accepting an invitation to dine with Mr. Forbes (an American gentleman, to whom we were likewise engaged), as he would not forego the pleasure of meeting his brother officers. Taking our leave, we proceeded to the room in which we were to arrange the starting of the vessels for the cup. At the door I was met by Captain Staveley, Military Secretary to the General commanding at Hong Kong, who requested my assistance in getting a young gentleman released, who had been imprisoned on the previous evening, he believed for not saluting the Host.

I immediately expressed my willingness to apply to the Governor, remarking, that he was a very good fellow, and

I was sure would not hesitate to comply with my request. Accordingly, Captain Troubridge and myself, accompanied by Captain Staveley, returned to the Government House. Without waiting to be announced, we proceeded at once to the apartment in which we had just before left Señor Amaral, and we found him seated with the French Chargé-d'affaires, M. le Baron de Forth Rouen. I apologised for the intrusion ; but His Excellency rising accompanied me to one of the windows. I then stated that I was come to ask a favour—that he would be so kind as to give an order for the release of a Mr. Summers, who, it appeared, had been confined in the common prison all night, for not saluting the Host. I concluded by remarking that, in all probability, His Excellency had heard nothing of the business. To this he sharply replied, that not only did he know all about it, but that the person in question had been confined by his order. I then remarked to His Excellency that the punishment (Mr. Summers having been confined in the common jail, without food, since five o'clock the previous afternoon) had surely been equal to the offence ; and I again expressed a hope that the Governor would order his release. On this he stated that Mr. Summers was sent to prison, not for any disrespect to the Host,—“*for which he (the Governor) cared perhaps as little as I did,*”—but for disobeying his (the Governor's) order. I inquired, “What order ?”—He replied, “The order he gave him to take his hat off.” I then asked “whether I understood the Governor rightly—whether he

could order any person he chose to take his hat off in the open streets?" To this he said, "Exactly so." I then said that this altered the case, and that I must now request the immediate liberation of Mr. Summers, as I could not consider that the alleged offence, for which he was imprisoned, was any crime at all. I further added, that I could hardly believe that I had heard now, in the nineteenth century, the Governor of a Portuguese settlement assert that he had imprisoned a British subject for refusing to take his hat off in the open streets, when ordered by him through a soldier to do so : I stated that, some five centuries back, a certain Gessler had placed a cap on a pole, and, in trying to make one William Tell bow to it, he had revolutionised Switzerland.—To this the Governor replied, that I was not acquainted with Portuguese law. I said, very likely not; but that I knew what common justice was. I then bowed, and retired. When I had descended half way down the steps, the Governor, calling me by name, asked me if I came to demand Mr. Summers's liberation as a right, or to ask it as a favour. I replied that, while I believed Mr. Summers had neglected to take off his hat, as was customary, on the passing of one of the religious ceremonies of the country, I had asked his liberation as a personal favour; but, since His Excellency had explained that Mr. Summers was confined for what I conceived to be no crime at all, I really could not, in the position I then occupied, ask for his liberation as a favour.

After this unexpected termination to our interview, we retired to the residence of my friend Mr. Patrick Stewart, situated within a few doors of the Government House, to consider with Captain Troubridge what steps should next be taken.

Here was a British subject, whose arrest had been in the first instance illegal, still unjustifiably detained after a respectful remonstrance on my part,—I being, in the absence of any British Consul or other civil authority, the proper representative of the British Government. I felt it my duty to demand in writing the immediate release of Mr. Summers : considering, however, the warm temperament of Señor do Amaral, and the bearing towards me which he had already assumed, I could scarcely augur for the more formal application that success which had been denied to my friendly intercession. I thought it advisable, therefore, to make the necessary arrangements in anticipation of denial. Owing to the shoalness of the water, no ship of any size could anchor within three miles of the landing-place. The boats of the squadron were preparing to pull at the regatta. I sent a gig off to the First Lieutenant of the *Mæander*, with an order to him to make the signal, “Prepare to land boats for service.” Captain Staveley in the meantime undertook to make himself acquainted, without exciting suspicion, with the position and state of the prison, the route to it, and how it was guarded, &c. To effect this he assumed a white jacket, the usual costume of the mercantile gentlemen ; and, taking with

him a basket of fruit, he walked up and obtained an interview with the prisoner, returning with the information we required. I then wrote the following letter, which Captain Troubridge took to the Governor :—

“H.B.M. SHIP MEANDER, MACAO ROADS,

“8th January, 1849.

“SIR,

“As I understand, from the personal interview I have just had with your Excellency, in the presence of Captain Troubridge, of H.B.M.S. *Amazon*, and Captain Staveley, Military Secretary to the General commanding the troops at Hong Kong, that Mr. Summers, a British subject and resident of Hong Kong, has been put in the common jail by your Excellency's order, for not taking off his hat, in obedience to your order conveyed by a soldier, on the occasion of the Host passing ; and your Excellency having entirely separated the supposed offence from any religious aspect, by distinctly stating that he was committed to jail for not obeying your order to take his hat off, I deem it my duty, as senior naval officer of H.B.M. ships in China, to demand his immediate release, and a full explanation of the circumstances which led to his imprisonment, for the information of H.B.M. Government.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your Excellency's most Obedient Servant,

“HENRY KEPPEL.”

Captain Troubridge found the Governor where we

had left him, and stated that he was requested to wait for an answer to this letter. The Governor absented himself for a while, and then returned with the following reply :—

“ MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

“ In reply to the letter which you have just addressed me from on board H.B.M.S. *Mæander*, anchored in Macao Roads, I transmit to you herewith the enclosed copy of an official letter, which accompanied Mr. Summers when he was sent by me to-day to the judge, to whom, according to the Portuguese laws, appertains the further prosecution of that affair.

“ God preserve you.

“ (Signed), JOAO MARIA FERREIRA DO AMARAL.

“ THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SEÑOR HENRY KEPPEL,

“ COMMANDING H.B.M. SQUADRON IN CHINA.

“ MACAO, *June 8th*, 1849.”

The purport of the enclosure was as follows :—

“ MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND EXCELLENT SIR,

“ To-day, on the passing of the procession of Corpo de Deos, J. Summers, Protestant Missionary, remained near the church of Misericordia with his hat on his head, amid a number of people who all showed respect for the religion of the country ; and I having ordered one of my attendants to tell him to take off his hat,—he would not. In consequence of this, I sent him to the

guard-house, and now send him to your Excellency, in order that your Excellency may condescend to settle this doubly scandalous case according to justice.

“God guard your Excellency.

“JOAO MARIA FERREIRA DO AMARAL.

“TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SENHOR CONSELHEIRO IOAQUIM

ANTONIO DE MORAES CARNEIRO,

“JUIZ DE DECRITO OF THIS CITY.

“MACAO, *June 8th*, 1849.”

To dance attendance beyond this point on Portuguese justice at Macao seemed to me unworthy of my position, and hopeless as to the object. The judge would have referred me back to the Governor, whose tool he was, and with whom alone I could properly hold official intercourse ; in the meantime Mr. Summers must lie in prison, awaiting the “course of law,” which, let me add, has within these last ten years left British subjects to die incarcerated in this very prison. I decided on liberating him at once.

To do so with the least possible risk of any disastrous incident was now the great object ; and I adopted the mode of proceeding which seemed the most promising for this end. A second boat being despatched to the *Mæander*, with directions that the signal should be made for the “Boats to land immediately,” I went on board the *Canton* steamer, which was moored off the town, and took my place as umpire at the regatta, which was about to commence. We started the sailing vessels—and

shortly after, observing some of the boats on their way to the shore in obedience to my signal, I excused myself for a few minutes, and again landed.

The first boat which arrived was the *Mæander's* barge, with a crew of twelve blue-jackets and six Marines ; and, the other boats being some way behind, I asked Captain Staveley, who was with me, whether he thought he could by a *coup-de-main* release Mr. Summers with that one boat's crew ? To this he gallantly replied that he had no objection to try—stipulating only, like a good general, that I should secure his retreat. Upon this I requested Mr. Burnaby, who had charge of the barge's crew, to attend to his wishes.

Passing quickly through a house which had a back entrance to the Senate Square, and so to the street in which the prison stood, Captain Staveley, with his party, immediately proceeded thither.

The cutter from the *Mæander* arriving next, I directed its crew to take charge of the house through which Captain Staveley had passed, placing sentries at each door.

The third boat had just arrived, when my attention was attracted towards Senate Square by the report of musketry. Leaving orders with the officer in charge of the landing place to pay *every attention* to His Excellency, should he land before my return (which was not improbable, since he must have seen all that was going on from on board the *Plymouth*), I was hastening to the scene of action, when I met Captain Staveley walking

down, arm in arm with Mr. Summers,—the rear brought up by the barge's crew. I immediately sent to stop the disembarkation of any more men. The whole business, from the landing of the barge's crew until their return to the boat with Mr. Summers, did not occupy five minutes of time. The arms from the launch and barge were transferred to the pinnace ; and the boats, with the exception of those which were to pull for the prizes, were ordered back to their respective ships. I returned to the *Canton* steamer, and had the pleasure of seeing the two best prizes won by the launch and barge of the *Mæander*. I learned from Captain Staveley that his party had to cross the square, to get to the street in which the prison was situated. On the left side of the square was the entrance to the arsenal, near which was a battery of four field-pieces, with a guard. When abreast of this battery, Captain Staveley directed Mr. Burnaby, with the blue-jackets, to possess themselves of the guns and remain there until his return, he proceeding with the Marines to the prison. The sentry at the prison presented his musket at Captain Staveley ; upon which the corporal of Marines wounded the sentry in the arm, causing him to drop his musket ; this proved to be superfluous, as the musket was found not to be loaded. The jailer dropping his bunch of keys, and the guard having vanished, the liberation of Mr. Summers was the work of a few seconds.

I am sorry, however, to add that this object was not

effected without one serious casualty, which, although it could not alter the view I had taken of my duty, much increased both my own regret at the perverseness of the Governor, and the general excitement consequent upon the event. A Portuguese soldier was killed by a musket-shot. It was said by his own people that he was unarmed, and not in any way opposed to our rescuing force. It may have been so ; it is not possible to reconcile the conflicting accounts even of this short affair. Captain Staveley, however, whose account I believe, states that some shots were exchanged between our men and the Portuguese, the latter firing into the square from the windows of a house : in this way they probably slew their own comrade ; but the point is not worth discussing, as it can neither lessen nor increase my own responsibility. I am convinced that the course I pursued can be perfectly justified in the eyes of every one with whom might does not constitute right, which law seemed to be the only one recognised by the Governor of Macao. It may be observed, that there is no class of public servants on whom great responsibilities are more suddenly imposed, than on the officer commanding a man-of-war ; and he cannot, with any security for his public duty, allow himself to consult those personal impulses, which, as they vary with every temperament, would produce inconsistencies in every sea. He must be guided, where special orders have not defined his course, by that which may best maintain

the honour of his Sovereign, and of the flag which she entrusts to him : and of this flag the greatest honour is that, into whatever port it floats, there it becomes the refuge of the humblest individual who, born to a share of British liberty, has not forfeited it by a positive breach of any law to which he and his nation owe respect. From what had transpired at my last interview with Señor Amaral, it must be evident that he deliberately disconnected the point at issue from any religious question whatever. Nothing could be more studiously arbitrary than the shape in which the Governor was pleased to put it to me ;—and this in the presence of the representative of France : nor could I divest myself of the suspicion that, if *he* had not been present, the Governor's bravado would have been wanting also. As it was, however, he first forces upon me the conviction that the liberation of Mr. Summers is a *right*, which I could *demand*, repudiating in his offence that element which had already enabled me to ask the "favour" of his pardon ; and then he says, "Unless you ask it as a favour you shall not have it. I care as little as you do for the religious point ; but if *I* order any man to take off his hat, he shall do it, or go to prison—*Exactly so.*" I should like to see the British officer who would assent to Señor Amaral's "exactly so." I should like to see him make his bow at the Admiralty, with the consciousness that, not long before his return, he, being Captain of a British frigate,—repre-

sentative on that spot of Her Britannic Majesty, had succumbed to the dictatorship of a Governor of Macao, and could give no further account of the Englishman who had claimed his protection, than that when the *Mæander* sailed, as when she arrived, he was “in prison for not taking off his hat !”

The perverse bearing of Señor Amaral, on my personal application to him, is the more remarkable, and is aggravated by the fact that he *had*, in his note to the judge, charged Mr. Summers, “a Protestant Missionary,” with the “*double scandal*,” of disrespect to the procession, and to himself. With *me*, therefore, he chose, at the expense of candour, to sink the *religious* point, that he might exalt himself.

I have hinted to the general reader how much he may *skip*. Now, therefore, as the case presents points of professional as well as of personal interest, I will proceed to state particularly the considerations which were duly—though, as the case was urgent,—promptly weighed by me, before I determined to settle with Señor Amaral after his own summary fashion.

As the senior naval officer then at Macao, I had three distinct questions to determine, *viz* :—

I.—Has this British subject contravened any law of the country in which he is imprisoned, so as to forfeit the protection of his own country’s flag ?

II.—Who is the proper person to intercede for him, if he has, or to see justice done to him, if he has not ?

III.—In what way should this be done ?

1. The first question is decided in a few words.

The Governor of Macao, on his own statement of the case, tempted, as it seemed to me, to shew off before the representative of France—claimed for himself an autocratical importance, which, had its victim been a Frenchman, would have been as promptly repudiated by M. le Baron de Forth Rouen, as it was by myself. My address on entering ought to have satisfied his vanity ; for I then told him that I had come to ask a favour ; and he ought the rather to have yielded with a good grace at once, as knowing that he had no acknowledged power to extort from foreigners, of other religions, any *act* of observance towards his own. He might have felt also that a “Protestant Missionary,” had a claim to some forbearance at his hands. The course pursued by him, disregarding even the formalities which his own laws prescribed—not to mention the special provisions of our treaties with Portugal—could only be considered as lawless and arbitrary : Mr. Summers, then, the subject of it, *was* entitled to the earliest practicable redress.

2. With whom did it rest to vindicate his cause ? Certainly, with the senior officer on the spot. At Lisbon it might have been a job for the ambassador : at Macao it devolved on me, as Her Britannic Majesty’s representative then and there. It was not a case which could with any propriety be referred to the civil authorities at Hong Kong. First, because I had no right, nor any

desire to impose on Mr. Bonham, even could he have performed it, the responsibility of my own disagreeable duty ; and secondly, because he could not have performed it : he could only have resorted to tardy diplomatic correspondence at a distance of forty miles, and then, in case of failure, back to myself or to the military power at Hong Kong.

In the meantime the utmost conceivable punishment for the "double scandal," would have been already undergone by Mr. Summers. There exists a note written by a predecessor of Señor Amaral, which he would probably have made his model in replying to any communication on this subject from Hong Kong.

On the occasion to which this note refers, the Consular Agent for the United States expressed his "regret at the arrest and imprisonment of two American citizens by order of his Excellency, the then Governor of Macao : " their offence seems to have been of the nature of Mr. Summers's. In reply, his Excellency the Governor Palha winds up a severe note by saying that it is "by an excess of moderation, but only for this time, that he has not determined instantly that Mr. Fisher should quit the city, for having the audacity to pretend that the Governor should account to him for the rules of his conduct." This peculiar style of the Governors of Macao does not encourage a reference to civil authorities when injustice is patent—when delay aggravates it—and when a man-of-war is at hand.

3. *How* then was I to liberate Mr. Summers? Here was no doubt an opportunity to emulate the Governor's bravado, and to make a grand display; but the mode which should involve the least possible risk of bloodshed, was that suggested by duty and humanity.

Señor Amaral's absence at the regatta offered an excellent opportunity, and it was used as I have narrated. I am well satisfied to have taken advantage of that accident. Had the Governor been on the spot, his high spirit would doubtless have urged him to an opposition which, though hopeless, might have multiplied subjects for regret.

I have passed over one argument which was much relied on at the time by the party who took the anti-Amaral side; for the affair, of course, created a great sensation, and each side of the question had its advocates. I was charged, on the one side, with having "violated a territory belonging to the Crown of Portugal." To this it was answered, that Macao does not belong to Portugal;—whence, it would follow, that Portuguese *law* can have no footing there.

It may certainly be shown that on many occasions the Portuguese have either been constrained, or have found it convenient, to admit that they have only a qualified property in this corner of China; but I have not yet claimed the benefit of *this* argument; because, I professed only to give the grounds on which I acted at the time; because, I might not then have had at my

fingers' ends the colonial history of Macao ; and because, two simpler points were clear to me :— first, that the outrage was indefensible under *any* law ; secondly, that, whether the prison stood on Portuguese or on Chinese territory, the prisoner was my countryman, and entitled to my help. At the same time, I do not forego an argument which I have every right to advance, and which is supported by authorities of the highest order. I have not had time to ask the formal permission of Sir Henry Pottinger, late Plenipotentiary in China, and now Governor of Madras, to make this use of a note which I received from him last year ; but I have no apprehension that he will object to my subjoining the following passage :—

“ My opinion always has been, and will be, that you acted quite right in rescuing a British subject from the Portuguese at Macao. *They have no sort of rights of sovereignty there* ; and I told the Governor, in my day, that if any of Her Majesty's subjects took refuge or were detained there, I would make him deliver them up. Lord Aberdeen approved of my decision ; and my friend Keying issued an edict declaring Macao to be on the footing of the five ports opened to trade. *That* I think is conclusive.”

I have assumed, as I hope I may, that my own statement of the minuter facts of this case will be received as the correct one. Some of the published accounts, —gathered, perhaps, with every desire for accuracy, yet from unauthentic or prejudiced sources,—are just

sufficiently erroneous to affect materially the merits of the case.

For example, the excited Governor, on the day following this event, invited all foreign officials, then at Macao, to attend the funeral of a soldier "assassinated by order of Captain Keppel." Poor man! he has since met his own fate from some real assassins. He was as brave an officer as could adorn any service, and I grieve for his unworthy end. In my slight collision with him I have no doubt whatever that, according to the view he took of *his* position,

"What he did, he did in honour,
Led by th' impartial conduct of his soul,"

an apology made and accepted by greater men than either of us. I, in turn, will apply to my share of the transaction other words of the same speaker *—

"Your highness pleased to forget my place,
The majesty and power of law and justice,
The image of the Queen whom I presented;
Whereon
I gave bold way to *my* authority."

And I cannot but feel perfectly at ease under the opinions both of the eminent personages already named, and of others equally so, whose correctness of judgment on questions of public delicacy, founded not only on the general experience of official life, but on particular knowledge of local circumstances, and appreciation of national character, is further guaranteed by their actual career in

* Chief Justice Gascoigne.

the public service, and by the success with which they have themselves maintained our national honour.

In seeking to conclude usefully an egotistical chapter, I would venture to remind my British fellow subjects, who may find themselves where other laws and other creeds prevail, that the duty of private individuals is often different from that which is officially incumbent upon us, who bear about our Sovereign's flag. Let them never by indiscretion invite a difficulty, from which they must afterwards invite their country's help to rescue them. Let them remember that customs and religions are *reciprocally* strange; and that, if *they* are allowed in a foreign land to practise unmolested their own observances, it is by virtue of that same forbearance, which they are doubly bound to exercise in turn. No ignorance was ever dispelled, no creed ever purified by the contemptuous sneer of a "conscientious" foreigner. I have the greatest respect for the devoted missionary; but with reference to such scruples as I suppose to have actuated Mr. Summers, I humbly think that, when his conscience forbade him to bow himself in the house of Rimmon, it might have whispered that principle would be satisfied, and contention avoided by his quietly taking his walk another way. While the military or naval officer, following his severe path of duty, may be pure from the blood of all men, self-acquittal may not be so easy to him, who, having gone forth to spread the Gospel of peace, calls into action his fellow-subjects militant, for

his own personal defence, by an unnecessary parade of the letter, rather than the spirit of Christianity. Whatever may become *our* bounden duty, when a case has actually arisen, let the missionary assure himself that, even if *laurels* could be gained in such collisions, we desire to reap none through his inconsistent or ill-timed frowardness; that while we rejoice, as fellow-members of the household of faith, to co-operate with him in every land, we accept it not as a pleasure, nor willingly as a duty, unless it tends to the magnifying of his *office* rather than of *himself*.

I have alluded to the tragical end of Señor Amaral, which took place not very long after this event. I subjoin the particulars, which have now painful interest.

The position of Macao is on the small peninsula which projects from the large islands of Hiangshan, and is about eight miles in circumference. The narrow isthmus, connecting Macao with the remainder of the island, is more than a mile in length, and a barrier wall runs across its narrowest part. Along this isthmus the Governor used to ride almost every day.

On the evening of the 22nd August, 1849, he was taking his usual ride. He had passed through the barrier gate, and, having given a quarter-dollar to an infirm old China woman, a pensioner on his bounty, was quietly proceeding homewards in conversation with his aide-de-camp, when he encountered a party of Chinamen, about three hundred yards from the barrier gate, coming

leisurely along the road. Among them was a young man, who held in his hand a bamboo of that sort used by coolies for carrying goods. Attached to the end of it was a bunch of green bushes and flowers, which, on meeting the Governor, he thrust into his face. The Governor turned on his assailant, exclaiming, "you dog," when a dash was made at him by six other Chinamen, which caused his horse to shy to the left, where the ground was broken by an acclivity of two or three feet, which the pony cleared.

It is probable that, as soon as he could pull up on clear ground, his first and fatal impulse was to face his pursuers. He took the bridle in his teeth, raising his only arm (the left) to take a pistol from the holsters, when they rushed upon him with drawn swords, the foremost of them cutting at his arm, by disabling which he would be at their mercy. He kept his seat for some time, although he had lost a stirrup and was but an indifferent horseman. The aide-de-camp observed him fall at length, after he himself had been brought to the ground. Having got the Governor down, the murderers cut off his hand and head,—apparently by repeated strokes from their blunt swords. The lower jaw and part of the tongue remained attached to the trunk. The wounds in the body were not mortal. The murderers escaped through the barrier, taking with them the head and hand of their victim ; and, having "chin-chinned Joss" in an adjoining house, embarked in a boat they had in waiting.

The Hong Kong papers state that two gentlemen on horseback witnessed the attack from a short distance, but, being unarmed, they could render no assistance !

Lieutenant J. P. Leite, the aide-de-camp, stated that, when the Governor's horse shied from the six Chinamen, he made an attempt to go to his assistance ; on which three of them turned upon him, and cut him down from his horse : he still held the rein ; but on attempting to get up he received a second cut on the head, and the pony escaped. When he was on the ground he observed the Governor falling off, but did not hear a sound from him : he saw the Chinese gathering round and hacking at the body. He then got upon his feet, and ran forward, pursued for several paces by two of the murderers.

There were various surmises as to the motive for this foul deed ; and most people were inclined to believe that it had been instigated by the Chinese Government.

That a murder so cunningly devised, and so boldly executed, was not the act of common robbers is evident from the fact, that the murderers did not plunder their victim : a watch and other valuables were left on the body of the unfortunate Governor. That it was a political murder is proved by the fact, that the head and hand were taken away, to serve for evidence that the hired assassins had performed their horrid office, for which no doubt they were promised a large reward.

It is pretty certain that twenty-four hours after the murder the ghastly proofs of it were in possession of the

Canton patriots, and probably gloated over by Commissioner Seu himself.

It is not for me to animadvert on the probable cause of the Celestial Government taking this truly Chinese mode of ridding themselves of a troublesome neighbour. His Excellency had lately acted upon his liberal, free-trade feeling, in ridding Macao of the Chinese Hoppo, or Custom House, which had existed since the Portuguese first rented Macao. He had also, for the purpose of improving the drive on which the European residents took their exercise, cut a pretty road through an extensive burial-ground, thereby disturbing the remains of many hundred Celestials,—a point on which they entertain very strong prejudices.

The excitement in Macao was great. The troops were not to be restrained: they insisted on changing a too peaceably inclined commander, by whom they were kept in check, for a Captain Ricardo, an energetic officer, in whom they had confidence. They sallied forth—a force of 120 men—and captured, in gallant style, a fort situated near the barrier. The storming party, of thirty-five men, was headed by a Lieutenant Mesqueda. The Portuguese had seven wounded; the Chinese seventy-four killed. The houses around the fort were fired, and no fewer than forty guns spiked. In a spirit of hasty and unjustifiable retaliation, however, they tarnished these laurels by bringing away the head and left hand of the mandarin who had charge of the fort: these they stuck on a pole in

front of the house where the remains of the Governor were lying. Poor Amaral would have been as much disgusted by this substitution as were the Portuguese authorities themselves, who immediately removed these trophies.

All remonstrances, as well as threats, on the part of Portugal have hitherto been unavailing for recovery, from the Chinese Government, of the lost head and hand. Many substitutes have, I believe, been offered.

On 27th May, 1850, the new Governor, Commodore Pedro Alexandrino de Cunha, arrived at Macao, in the *Don John*, of twenty-two guns, and the *Doña Maria II.*, frigate, of thirty-two guns, also arrived from Goa, with a Company of Artillery; and with this extra force it was supposed His Excellency would bring the China authorities to a sense of what was due to Portugal. Most unfortunately, however, the *Doña Maria* while lying in the Typa anchorage, on the 29th September following, blew up with a terrific explosion, by which 188 lives were lost. The cause of this accident remains a mystery. The ship had been dressed out in honour of the birthday of the Prince Consort of Portugal. Out of 224 on the ship's books, only thirty-six were alive at the subsequent muster. The Captain and most of the officers perished.

The "Boletim do Governo" concludes its accounts of these melancholy events with:—"Would to God that this be the last of the no small series of calamities that has afflicted this establishment!"

CHAPTER VII.

DEPARTURE FOR MANILLA—ITS BAY, RIVER, CITY, VILLAGES, AND MANUFACTURES—
HOSPITALITY—TRIP TO THE LAKES—CAVITA—REGAL STATE OF THE GOVERNOR
—PERILS OF A PATENT OF NOBILITY—DEPARTURE FROM MANILLA—SHIP
AGROUND—ARRIVAL AT LABUAN—TAKE IN COAL—NEWS OF PIRATE FLEET
HAVING PUT TO SEA—DEPARTURE FOR THE COAST OF BORNEO.

WE left the scene of our “untoward event” early on the following morning; and on the 21st anchored in Manilla Bay. Respecting either the bay or the city it would be difficult to write anything new. The bay is twenty-five miles in circumference, and receives many rivers. The city, happily situated at the mouth of the Pasig, is the capital of the Spanish settlement in the Phillippine Islands. The Pasig is navigable as far as the lakes, of which there is a succession, the nearest being about three leagues eastward of the town. On their borders may be seen upwards of a hundred picturesque Indian villages, chiefly built of bamboo. The prevalence of earthquakes has prevented the erection of lofty buildings; nevertheless, the city has an opulent and substantial appearance from the anchorage, to which, however,

the numerous churches and monasteries contribute largely.

Its extensive manufacture of cheroots is well known. In one building alone are employed some 14,000 women, all talking at the same time, but kept in tolerable order by female overseers of austere aspect. There are also manufactories for the beautifully-embroidered piña cloth, made from the fibres of the pine-apple leaf. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the kind and hearty welcome with which a man-of-war is invariably received at Manilla, especially by the mercantile community,—our transatlantic brethren vying with our own countrymen in hospitality. Our arrival seemed to be made an excuse for a little relaxation from the duties of the counting-house; and, during the eight days that the ship remained in the bay, there was a succession of pic-nics, dinners, and balls. Excusing myself from accepting the kind invitation of Mr. Farren, the Consul, I returned to the old quarters where I had been so kindly received, while in the *Dido*, by my friend Mr. F. Richardson, of the firm of Paterson and Co.

One party visited the lakes, which they had heard described in such glowing terms, and they appeared particularly to enjoy themselves.

The canoes afford a most luxurious mode of travelling. They are paddled along by natives, who ply at either end, the passenger occupying the centre: he may at his pleasure turn into a comfortable bed, sheltered from the rain or sun by a mat-covering, which is supported on

bamboos, arched over from side to side. There is room also for a portmanteau and gun-case. Two or more people may be accommodated in this way. The kind friend, who had given our party a letter of introduction to a gentleman residing on the borders of the lakes, likewise took care to see that they should have a well-supplied commissariat.

The following account of the excursion is taken from the notes of one of the party :—

“ We took canoe, and paddled up the river, on either side of which the country-houses and gardens of the inhabitants extended for miles.

“ It was dark when we reached the entrance to the lakes ; and our boatmen took it easy during the night : but at daylight, when we rubbed our eyes and looked around us, the change seemed magical. Instead of the narrow and very muddy river on which we were paddling when we went to sleep, we found ourselves on the bosom of a magnificent lake measuring several miles across, and in water which, although fresh, was deep and blue in appearance. The hills, or rather mountains, came sloping down from the clouds to the water's edge ; we could see the fish rising in all directions. As we passed by headlands, or emerged from groups of islands, fresh expanses of the lakes opened before us, all of the same beautiful character. It was in fact one large lake, though in many places nearly separated into several different basins, by narrow

passes and numerous islets. We went on wondering and admiring, until we reached our friend's residence in the vicinity of a large and flourishing village. To our great disappointment he was absent from home, having gone on a visit to the Pueblo of San Francisco, a provincial town about ten miles off at the extremity of the lake. We managed to make his "Major Domo" understand our wants; whereupon he unlocked the doors, kicked out the dogs, and made us comfortable with a hot breakfast. After this he provided us with a guide to the summit of a hill in the vicinity, commanding an extensive view. On our way thither we passed through the village, which is approached by pleasant lanes, sheltered from the sun by hedges of bamboo, the ends of which, gracefully inclining inwards, formed an arch overhead. The houses were clean and well-built, with white walls and neatly-thatched roofs: the streets are built at right angles; and there is, after the common fashion of Spanish towns, a plaza, or square, in the centre.

"The inhabitants, who are of a mixed breed between the Spanish and Indians, appeared entirely agricultural in their pursuits and resources: they send their produce by canoes to Manilla.

"The low-land, between the village and the hills at the back, was drained and highly cultivated. The corn fields were generally fringed with groves of cocoa-nut trees, affording a very pleasant and necessary retreat from the noonday sun.

“It was intensely hot, and the hill ascent very laborious ; but the view from the summit was worth the trouble. Looking in the direction where we imagined we had entered the waters, we were at fault ; for the labyrinth of lakes seemed interminable—basin after basin of blue water appearing one above the other. Some of the distant land lay high ; it sloped gradually to the water’s edge, and seemed to be capable of any degree of cultivation.

“In an opposite direction the lake-view was not equally extensive, but bounded by higher mountains, at the foot of which, in a plain beyond, communicating by rivers with the lake, stands the town of San Francisco. The view on this side was more lively, the monotony of the lake being relieved by the white sails of the numerous canoes passing to and fro. The low-land immediately beneath our feet, bordering the lake, was teeming with herds of cattle. Altogether the scene was indescribably beautiful.

“It seemed strange to us that agriculture was so partially pursued on the shores of these lakes, where the soil was so rich, where easy means of irrigation are at command, and where the water-communication from all parts with Manilla is so open and easy. The explanation given was that all communication, whether by land or water, is insecure ; liable to the attacks of banditti,—these are composed partly of deserters from the army, and partly of native Indians, a race still untamed and unimpressible, as to the advantages of quiet commerce.

“We found that villages, much nearer Manilla than those now in our view, were nightly kept on the *qui-vive* by this source of alarm. It is strange that this should be a true complaint so near the capital of the Phillippine Islands, colonised by the Spaniards upwards of three centuries ago—but so it was.

“Returning to the village in the afternoon, and not being able to learn anything definite about the probability of our friend’s return, we gave up the hope of shooting and rejoined our canoes with some regret, imagining that, much as we had seen, we might possibly have missed some of the beauties of these lakes through want of a competent cicerone.

“We had also heard of the existence of a volcano in this neighbourhood, said to be sometimes in activity—but we did not see it. Fairly embarked again in our canoes, we slept off our disappointment, and awoke the next morning in Manilla.”

The white buildings of the naval arsenal at Cavita, situated in the bay nine miles to the southward of Manilla, may be seen from the anchorage. This town, commanding respect by its antiquity, was founded by Don Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, the first Captain-General, about 1564. It still contains the remains of one of that interesting class of vessels, the Spanish galleon—the last of its order, —now rotting in the basin.

I had the honour of being entertained by His Excellency, General Don Antonio Maria Blanco, Field-Marshal,

Commanding-in-Chief,—doing the duties of the Captain-General, who was absent on a tour in search of health. I was much struck by the more than regal state and etiquette observed by the Don. The dinner was excellent. Aides-de-camp, in handsome scarlet uniform, stood at each end of the table and carved: they entered into conversation, and made themselves very agreeable, but never attempted to eat, nor even to sit down except during the changing of the courses; and then only at a distance from the festive board.

The Captain-General, Don Marciso Clavería, had lately been made a Grandee of Spain, under the title of Conde de Manilla, for his services in putting down a horde of pirates at Balagnini. The patent of nobility had been sent out by the Overland Mail; and the officer in charge, who was conveying it from the mail-steamer at Hong Kong to the Spanish Chargé-d'affaires at Macao, happened to be in one of the vessels that was attacked by the Chinese pirates, some of whom were afterwards hanged at Hong Kong. This officer was murdered, and his portmanteau, containing the Letters Patent beautifully illuminated in gold, was retaken in the junk that was captured by the boats of the *Inflexible*, and had thus just reached the hands of the Condessa. I found her rejoicing over its contents when I called to pay my respects.

We sailed from Manilla on the 2nd July. Passing round the north end and down the coast of Luban, we

ran between that coast and the Cabras Islands ; and on the 6th, after passing between Mindoro and the Appo shoal, we steered to the southward for the passage to the eastward of Palawan. In working down we experienced very fine weather, but light and variable winds : the coast was free from dangers, and in that respect far preferable to the western side.

On the 13th, we landed on East Island, while the ship ran between it and the coast. On the 16th, made the Peak of Balabac.

The following morning, at five o'clock, just as we had set the studding-sails to a freshening breeze, the ship running fast, she took the ground at the top of high-water, on a coral bank not laid down, and close to which we had worked the ship before without noticing the appearance of any danger. Having plenty of head-way, she shot twice her length before she stopped. The tide beginning to fall, we had only time to get the sails furled and top-gallant masts on deck, before she began to heel over, which she continued to do until she had attained 38 deg. from the upright position. If a ship is to be got off, it is generally by the same road by which she got on. The weather was fine and the water smooth ; so that we had nothing for it but to " turn to " with a will.

Having laid a bower-anchor out astern, and hove the cable well taut, we sent the pinnace to Labuan for assistance, and lightened the ship by throwing the guns overboard, and lading the boats with shot and other

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weighty materials. The next morning, at half-past seven, the ship floated. The only way that I know of, to enable a man—especially if he be the Captain—fully to appreciate the agreeable sensation that I experienced on feeling the ship once more alive, and moving back into deep water, is to let him first get *into a fix* similar to that from which the *Mæander* had just escaped. By breakfast-time the following morning we were running, with all sail set, for Balambangan; and, if the rusty appearance of the muzzles of the guns had not told tales, no one who might have met us could have seen that anything had happened.

Before the pinnace had lost sight of the ship, the tide had fallen to its lowest; and the huge hull appearing on the horizon had looked so perfectly helpless, and its position so unlike what they ever expected to see her in again, that the crew of the pinnace gave a desponding account of her on their arrival at Labuan.

The next day in Kimanis Bay we met the H.E.I.C. steam-frigate *Semiramis*, Commander Daniell, coming to our assistance. The crew manned the rigging, and congratulated us on our escape by three hearty cheers.

23rd.—Came to, off the Coal Point, Labuan. Coal had become so scarce at Sincapore, that the Commander-in-Chief had sent to borrow some from the Dutch Government at Batavia. All the surface of the fine coal seam had been picked off by the person who had contracted, before the charter was granted to the E. Archipelago Company, to supply our steamers with coal; and that part

of the seam at which they were now working was some three hundred yards from the water's edge ; and, although labour was cheap and the contract price had been raised, they could with difficulty work out ten tons per day. By working in the cool of the morning and evening, we put on board in a few days 150 tons, filling the after-hold. We had just completed our dirty job, when the news reached us that the Sakarran and Serebas pirate fleet had put to sea, and that the *Albatross*, accompanied by Sir James Brooke and his native force, was out in search of them ; but I may as well state at once that the pirate fleet was even then destroyed, as we ascertained on reaching the Bornean coast.

While, however, our ship is on her way thither, I will endeavour to contribute towards the conviction of the unprejudiced a few of those stubborn facts, from which it may be decided whether the sufferers at the hands of Captain Farquhar and Sir James Brooke were "peaceful traders" or blood-thirsty and systematic pirates. There *will* always be some peculiarly constituted minds, fortified by a sort of moral gutta-serena, through which neither pre-conceived opinion can evaporate, nor a deluge, even, of new evidence effect an entrance. For such persons it were vain to write : they can but be recommended to *visit* the Eastern Archipelago. Let them cross the path of these peaceful traders. They will probably return better able than before to define a pirate, and to illustrate the uses of a kris.

Not discouraged, however, by a few impenetrables, I shall devote the next chapter to a brief account of the piratical communities of the Bornean seas; and to a notice of the proofs which have been accumulated that they *are* piratical communities. As an eyewitness, already honoured with credit, generally, so far as I have contributed my mite of testimony, I feel bound to add that which I have more recently collected.

The charitable determination of some well-meaning "philanthropists," to think no evil of the "poor Dyaks" unfortunately reduces to the category of murderers and liars certain of their fellow-countrymen, whom the same charity might suppose to be as well-meaning and as honourable as themselves, while reason must allow them to be better informed.

The publication of this volume having been unexpectedly delayed, in waiting for the map and illustrations, I now find many of my remarks, on the subject of piracy especially, anticipated by the author of an able and interesting article in the "Edinburgh Review," No. 195. Its perusal has made me hesitate to shew myself in the same path with a writer whom I can follow only at a distance: but, being one of the very witnesses whom he has honoured with notice, I have determined to let the whole work stand as if I had not seen the "Review," offering to the same able writer, or to others, on subjects which I hope will not be dropped, the results of my further actual experience and ocular observations.

CHAPTER VIII.

MALAYS AND DYAKS AS RESPECTS THEIR PIRATICAL CHARACTER—SEREBAS MALAYS—
 SEREBAS DYAKS—THE MALAY PRAHU—THE DYAK BANGKONG—SAKARRANS—
 REMARKS ON THEIR PIRATICAL PROPENSITIES, AND ON OUR FORMER OPERATIONS
 AGAINST THEM—PREPARATIONS OF THE SEREBAS PIRATES—PREPARATIONS OF THE
 RAJAH OF SARAWAK—PIRATE PRISONER BROUGHT IN—ATTACK ON SADONG BY
 THE SEREBAS PIRATES—A CHIEF DUNGONG—HIS FATE—REMARKS—THE RAJAH
 OF SARAWAK SALLIES FORTH WITH HIS FLEET—IS JOINED BY NATIVE ALLIES—
 HIS PROCEEDINGS—RETURN TO SARAWAK.

THE Serebas, like the inhabitants of the other rivers on the north-west coast of Borneo are divided into two distinct classes—the Malays and the Dyaks.

The origin of the present Malay race of Serebas is a question unsettled by ethnologists. They are not indigenous, as the Dyaks are. Once, however, established in their present locality, they would naturally fall under the dominion of the Sultan of Borneo. But it is recorded that, towards the end of the seventeenth century, they rejected his rule, and offered to become subjects of the Sultan of Johore, from whose country it has been supposed that they sprung, and whose power was then considerable.

The advantage to the Serebas from this transfer of their allegiance would be great. They would no longer pay tribute, from the proceeds of their depredations, to the Sultan of Borneo : while the Sultan of Johore, having an acknowledged claim, would find it a troublesome one to enforce. The Sultan of Borneo, however, has never given up his right of sovereignty over the Serebas country, though it is now only nominal.

In these political tactics, which secured to them a field for depredation without any one really to call them to account, we have early indications of a character which the Malays of Serebas have ever since sustained.

The piratical character of the *Malays in general* has never been disputed.

“ It is in the Malay’s nature,” says an intelligent Dutch writer, “ to rove on the seas in his prahu, as it is in that of the Arab to wander with his steed on the sands of the desert. It is as impossible to limit the adventurous life of a Malay to fishing and trading, as to retain an Arab in a village or in a habitation.”

The Malays of Serebas have never been an exception, in this respect, to those of the same race located on the various sea-coasts of the Eastern Archipelago : in fact they differ in *no* material point from the Malays of other places—all are equally addicted to piracy. This is not merely their habit ; it may be termed their instinct. All are equally warlike, equally well armed. From their superiority in these respects, and in point of civilisation,

they are in the position of rulers and protectors to the *Dyaks*.

The *Malayan* community of Serebas, however, never exceeded 1500 fighting men ; and their depredations were, for some time, limited to the plunder of such vessels as they could overcome with that force at sea. The captured crews were on all occasions carried into slavery.

The *Dyaks* of the Serebas country comprise of themselves numerous communities, numbering several thousand warriors. While their warlike operations were confined to the intertribal feuds so common among savages, their weapons were the spear and the sword,—formidable enough in Dyak hands : they adopted, however, other arms, according as they became mixed up with the operations of the Malays, in the manner which I shall presently explain ; but they always were, and still are, a distinct people.

Such being the state of things in the Serebas country, the Dyaks, about eighty or even one hundred years ago, were gradually trained to piracy by the Malays, commencing their apprenticeship as pullers in the *Malayan* prahus, in which service they were rewarded with the heads of the slain (for which they had a peculiar taste), and they received also such captives as were useless to the Malays for slavery.

In the course of time these Dyaks became expert seamen ; they built a description of prahu, or bangkong, peculiarly suited to their stealthy and rapid movements ;

and, together with the Malays, formed the fleets composed of one hundred or more prahus, which swept the seas, and devastated the shores of Borneo over a distance of 800 miles.

The Dyaks soon became aware of their own power; and, accordingly, both in their internal government and on their piratical expeditions, their chiefs in time attained equal authority with the Malayan rulers: the plunder also, whether of vessel or village, was equally divided between Malay and Dyak; but no male captive was willingly spared by them, owing to the propensity of the Dyaks for collecting heads. It will be remembered, from the earlier journals of the Rajah of Sarāwak, that the present of a head is exacted from every aspirant to a Dyak bride,—this preliminary being “established from time immemorial, and indispensable.” So far as the Rajah’s influence extends, this barbarous custom is, with many others, fast disappearing. Some of the young Dyaks have plainly stated that they would give up head-hunting, were it not for the taunts and gibes of their wives and sweethearts, who threaten to put on them the bedung (petticoat) if they do not procure, and lay at their feet, these ghastly trophies of their bravery. They never attempt to disguise the fact, that they go forth in their expeditions excited by no injuries, seeking no revenge, but simply intent on plunder, and above all on heads.

Thus the character of piracy was altered, and rendered more bloody, by the infusion of this Dyak element. I

therefore wish my readers distinctly to keep in view, that the pirates who are the subjects of this chapter are *the Malays and Dyaks of Serebas*; that it was against *these Malays and Dyaks*, conjointly, that I had to act in the years 1843 and 1844, and against whom Captain Farquhar was engaged in 1849.

When I mention the Serebas as pirates, I include with these the Sakarran Dyaks. The Serebas inhabit the interior of the river of the same name, and the country near the sources of the Lipat, a branch of the Kaluka river. The Sakarrans live on the left-hand branch of the Batang Lupar, and on the Kanowit, the Kalibas, and other tributaries of the Rejang. All the tribes and their several divisions have inland communication with each other; and when a piratical balla is fitted out in one river, all who are disposed to join it cross overland to the place of rendezvous, and assist in manning the bangkongs. At other times the Malays of Serebas (about 1500 in number, armed with *lelas* and musketry,) compose the principal part of the fighting men in the Dyak bangkongs. The former was the case in March 1849—when Sadong was attacked by the pirates, and one hundred people slaughtered. The latter plan was in force when the Serebas were engaged by Captain Farquhar four months later; the heavy Malayan prahus had been left behind, to enable them to baffle an enemy whom they knew they were not unlikely to meet at sea: to each of these occasions I shall have to refer more particularly.

The Malayan inhabitants of Serebas are, as I have before stated, armed in the same manner as the Malays of other places. Their weapons are the kris (indispensable to *every* Malay), the spear, and whatever fire-arms they choose to obtain from the free market of Singapore.

A word now on the description of vessel in which they make their piratical cruises. These are of two kinds: the Malay *prahu*, and the Dyak *bangkong*. The war-prahu of the Malays of Serebas is in no respect inferior to that used by those most notorious pirates, the Lanuns and Balagnini. I have known one of these piratical prahus measure ninety feet in length, with a proportionate beam. The usual armament of such a vessel would be one gun—from a six to a twelve-pounder—in the bow; from four to six swivels, or *lelas*, on each broadside; besides about twenty or thirty rifles or muskets. Such boats would pull from sixty to eighty oars, in two tiers; and her complement of men would be from eighty to one hundred. Over the pullers, and extending the whole length of the vessel, is a light but strong flat roof, made of thin strips of bamboo, and covered with matting. This protects their ammunition and provisions from the rain, and serves as a platform on which they mount to fight, and from which they fire their muskets or hurl their spears with great precision. The rowers sit cross-legged on a shelf projecting outwards from the bends of the vessel. A vessel of this description, well known on the

coast, belonging to the Laksimana of Serebas, was destroyed by Captain Farquhar at Paku. Seriff Mullah's prahu, captured by the *Dido's* boats at Undop, was of the same formidable class : many others seen by our officers on their various expeditions were fully as formidable, or more so. Such is the class of vessel in common use with the Malays of Serebas for the purposes of piracy.

The Dyak bangkongs, drawing but a few inches water, are both lighter and faster than the prahus of the Malays, with a long overhanging stem and stern ; they measure a hundred feet in length, by nine or ten in beam. These bangkongs are usually propelled by from sixty to eighty paddles ; they are as swift as an eight-oared London wherry, and can be turned at full speed in their own length. Each bangkong, besides its regular complement of Dyaks, carries a few Malays armed with musketry, and they occasionally mount one or two small lelas. They are equally efficient for pursuit and for flight ; and their stealthy and noiseless approach gives no warning to their victims, who have been too often surprised, and overwhelmed with a shower of spears in the dead of the night.

I have here given a description of a Malayan *prahu* and a Dyak *bangkong* of Serebas, of the *first-class*. The vessels are essentially different, in all respects ; there are of course, belonging to each description, numerous vessels of smaller size and armament ; the complement, whether in the one or the other, may be very moderately com-

puted at an average of thirty-five men. On some occasions, and according to the nature of the service on which they are engaged, the heavily armed Malayan prahus, and the swift and destructive Dyak bangkongs, form one fleet or *balla*.

It was in 1843, when I first visited Sarāwak, that I made every necessary inquiry, to convince myself of the real character of these communities before acting against them. I collected such a mass of testimony from numerous persons of various nations—from Malays, Dyaks, and Chinese—from the Rajah Muda Hassim—from the Datus of Sarāwak—from respectable men of many other rivers—and from my own countrymen, as left no doubt whatever of the extensive and systematic depredation carried on by these pirates. I became assured that a large amount of human life was annually sacrificed; that the coast was devastated, and the trade destroyed by these marauders; and therefore I did not hesitate to act against them on my own responsibility—I considered it a duty incumbent upon me to do so. The result fully confirmed my expectations,—the piratical ravages of the Serebas were checked; and their discomfiture, even for a season, conferred the greatest benefit upon the peaceful inhabitants of the coast. It was to me a fair subject of regret to have been ordered to China from this sphere of usefulness.

I had the satisfaction of finding what was done at this time entirely approved of by the British Government—

and it may be added, by the British public, declaring itself by its acknowledged organ, the influential portion of the press,—nor was any voice then raised on the side of what I must consider mistaken and short-sighted humanity, allying itself with the pirate against the peaceful trader. My successors on the station, arriving there equally unprejudiced, but resorting in like manner to the evidence of their senses, adopted the same views as myself; nor am I aware that a doubt on this subject was entertained, either in England or abroad, during the three following years.

In 1849 I was again appointed, as Captain of the *Mæander*, to carry out the suppression of piracy on that same coast of Borneo, and against this very people, the Serebas. Arriving on the station, I instituted fresh inquiries into the recent acts of piracy committed by them; and I should with ample reason have again adopted the severest measures, had I not been once more ordered to China. Captain Farquhar, who succeeded me, met and defeated these pirates in the manner which I shall presently describe; and then arose an outcry in England, the secret springs of which I will abstain from conjecturing, or rather from directly pointing to.

It assumed a shape which sufficiently indicated its source,—that of unscrupulous calumny, aimed principally at one individual whom I am proud to call my friend; one with whom I first made acquaintance

at the ends of the earth, occupying a position unprecedented for an European as a friend of the human race.

“ Men, that make
Envy and crooked malice nourishment,
Dare bite the best.”

“ Men’s minds will feed either upon their own good or upon others’ evil; and who wanteth the one, will prey upon the other : and whoso is out of hope to attain to another’s virtue, will seek to come at even hand by depressing another’s fortune.” Whatever be the motives of Sir James Brooke’s detractors, they have not succeeded in their aims. Even while their

“gall coins slanders like a mint,
To match him in comparisons with dirt,
OPINION crowns him with imperial voice !”

And I feel assured, that every shaft they shall hurl with the same unworthy aim will, like the boomerang thrown by a clumsy hand, revert upon their own heads : I despair of its touching any more hopeful part.

The subject of piracy has during the last three years given rise to repeated discussions in Parliament ; but these have assumed the tone not so much of enlightened debate as to the best means of suppressing it, as of fierce attacks on all that has been done for this end, and on the characters of those employed,—on their humanity, their disinterestedness, their veracity. As one of the officers implicated with the “Anglo-Malayan Rajah” in

such serious charges, I cannot refrain, although well satisfied with our honourable defenders in both Houses, from using this opportunity to take my own part, and that of my friends and co-operators in a work which, I again say, cannot be left incomplete without increasing peril to the best interests of humanity. As the gravest charges advanced against us all had their origin and foundation in the severe chastisement of a piratical fleet by Captain Farquhar, I will in due order advert to the acts of these particular pirates, the Malays and Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran, immediately before their chastisement; then to the action itself, and to the movements subsequently made in following up the blow. I will next notice as fairly as I can the charges against all concerned which arose out of these proceedings—the Parliamentary organ of our accusers being the honourable member for Montrose. Lastly, I will endeavour to give as full and complete an answer to all objectors, as facts and experience may supply.

I have already stated that the Rajah of Sarāwak, on his return thither from England, in September 1848, discovered that an intrigue was on foot, of which the object was to re-establish a nucleus of piracy at Songi, the former residence of a notorious pirate, Seriff Sahibe, on a branch of the Sadong river. To nip in the bud this mischief, which had germinated during his absence in England, the Rajah sent up immediately a sufficient force to make an imposing demonstration, and took such

further measures as removed all ground for apprehension in that quarter. The *Mæander's* boats accompanied those of Sarāwak on this occasion.

In the Serebas country, also, active preparations had been for some time going on to fit for sea a formidable piratical balla ; but the unexpected arrival on the coast of so powerful a ship as the *Mæander*, and the news, which soon spread to the Serebas, that her boats had already visited the Sadong, operated for the time as a check upon their active measures. No sooner, however, did the departure of the *Mæander* leave the Bornean coast without a man-of-war,—the steamer of the station being employed in keeping up communication between Labuan and Sincapore,—than the Serebas pirates resumed those preparations for fresh atrocities, in which they spend all the time not actually taken up in executing evil deeds already planned. The absence from Sarāwak of the Rajah himself during the four following months facilitated and encouraged their proceedings. It will be remembered that, after a very brief sojourn at Sarāwak, on his return from England, he had gone on in the *Mæander* to Labuan (his new seat of Government under the British Crown). There we left him, while we made another trip to Sincapore : returning, we took him on a cruise of health, during which too he made official visits, particularly to the Sultan of Soloo ; after this we brought him back to Labuan, and left him there ; and again visiting Sincapore, we found awaiting us orders to proceed to China. Calling

at Sarāwak on our way, at the end of February, we found that the Rajah had already returned thither from Labuan in the *Royalist*, and had found it necessary to take immediate measures against the Serebas and Sakarran pirates, whose audacity had run riot during his absence at Labuan. The energy of the Rajah of Sarāwak would urge him at any time to make head against a great evil, even single-handed ; but it is quite certain that, so long as piracy flourishes as at present, he must always be left with formidable odds against him, when he has not the assistance of a British man-of-war. The insolence of the pirates had by this time so increased, that they had sent the Rajah a message of defiance, daring him to come out against them, taunting him with cowardice, and comparing him to a woman. This tone of security in the Serebas was certainly rather to be lamented than wondered at : they had lately with impunity captured several trading boats, devastated two rivers, burned three villages, and slaughtered at least four hundred persons,—men, women, and children. “Why does the navy sleep?” asks a published letter of this date, from Sarāwak ;—“Where is Captain Keppel ?” That is to say, they were casting a longing look after the last British frigate,—which, like Paul Pry, “just dropping in, and hoping she didn’t intrude,” had left them to the unequal contest.

On the 27th February, a fine young man was brought into Sarāwak as a prisoner, having been picked up by a boat at sea. He was a Serebas pirate, and had

belonged to a squadron which had destroyed one of the villages in the Delta of the Rejang. He had gone to a short distance inland, on a little excursion of his own, to procure a few heads for his private gratification ; and, on his return to the river's side, he found that the balla to which he belonged had sailed away. Unwilling to trust himself to the mercies of the people whom he and his countrymen had so ill used, he placed himself on a floating nipah palm-tree, and pushed into the stream, hoping that the flood-tide might carry him up the river. The ebb, however, which ran the strongest, conveyed him out to sea ; and there he was found, and brought in for judgment. After a short detention, he was dismissed with a suitable, but useless caution to his chiefs.

That the caution was useless will sufficiently appear from the fact that, on the 1st March, a formidable force of Serebas pirates, comprising between sixty and one hundred prahus, dashed up the Sadong river, headed by a notorious chief, the Laksimana of Paku, and attacked in detail the detached farm-houses which are situated on the river for some miles below the town of Gadong. The town itself they did not attempt, knowing it to be strong and well prepared for defence.

They had selected for their purpose the time of harvest, when the men were widely scattered, and the unfortunate women and children were left unprotected. The farm-houses attacked in this state generally fall an easy prey.

The strong tides which set up these rivers materially assist the invading party to take their victims by surprise. They reached the devoted river soon after the dawn of day. The mode of proceeding is as follows :—The foremost bangkong of the balla stops abreast of the first farm-house to which they come ; the crew rush on shore, and the heads of the sleeping and unsuspecting inmates are in a few minutes secured. The rest of the fleet push on ; and regularly, as they move up the river, the leading boats stop by twos and threes, at each successive farm-house, and enact their respective tragedies.

Upwards of one hundred heads were taken in this expedition by these murderous villains. Of all those whose farms were attacked, one man only, Abong Sadik, happening to be well prepared,—his firearms ready, and his powder dry,—made a successful defence. His people had just commenced work, when the enemy swept up the reach. Twenty-seven of his men got back to the house in time. Pulling up the ladders—the Malay houses, as is well known, being built on piles—they shot down the first three pirates that landed ; on which the remainder, abandoning for the present their hope of beheading that particular establishment, moved on to see if the inmates were as wide awake next door.

A few select ruffians of this fleet lingered behind after the main body had quitted the river, having dressed themselves in the spoils of their victims, and put on

the broad-brimmed hat used by the labourers on the farms. Thus disguised, these miscreants stealthily dropped down the river in the small canoes which they found on the banks; and, imitating the Sadong dialect, they called to the women to come out of their hiding-places, saying that they had come to convey them to a place of safety. In many instances the stratagem was but too successful; and the helpless women, rushing down with their infants in their arms, became the prey of these wolves in sheep's clothing.

There is something of rude romance in the following incident. There was in the balla a chief named Dung-dong—a ferocious old ruffian as any there. He was a Malay by birth, but had given up the customs and religion of his people, adopted the Dyak costume, and become a notorious head-hunter. While his crew were plundering a farm-house, he was captivated by the appearance of a young girl who was endeavouring to make her escape into the jungle: he pursued her; but, being encumbered by a heavy iron-headed spear, he stuck it into the ground, purposing to pick it up on his return. The path to the jungle was through a padi field, of which the crop was then ripe and long, fit for reaping. The pirate speedily overtook his victim, and returned, bearing the poor shrieking girl in his arms, to the point where he had left his spear: but it was gone. He hurried on with his prize towards the boat; but fell almost immediately, pierced through the neck by his own

spear, hurled from the hand of his intended victim's father.

I have here given an *imperfect outline* of the deeds done by the Serebas and Sakarran pirates during one ordinary expedition up one river, the Sadong. I assure the reader that imagination could scarcely fill up this outline with characteristics answering to the reality. I have not mentioned those *most* revolting circumstances, which, though they may vary in their details, are common to all these occasions. What manner of people, then, are these Malays and Dyaks, who occupy their business in the waters of Serebas and Sakarran? What is their business—if not piracy? I will not now anticipate conclusions upon which many more facts shall yet be brought to bear; but it may be remarked at once—first, that it is a great mistake to designate these proceedings as “inter-tribal feuds.” The Malays and Dyaks of Serebas do not busy themselves with feuds, as such: but they will get up a feud (if any one insists on calling it so) wherever heads and pillage are to be had. But, secondly, a mere change of expression could not exonerate us from the duty of repressing such excesses. A nation which, to its honour, will not tolerate an African slave-trade, with *its* concomitant horrors, can scarcely plead the principle of non-intervention when the scene of equal horrors lies in her direct commercial path.

At length, in the hope of arresting the continual further sacrifice of life and property, by which these

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outrages in the Sadong, and others in various directions, were sure to be followed up unless some preventive measures were taken, the Rajah sallied forth, on the 25th March, 1849, with the native flotilla, which he had, at a considerable expense, prepared for service. The force, on setting out, consisted of fifty-five prahus, with a total of 1800 men : this was augmented, in the course of a few days, by auxiliaries from various rivers on the coast, anxious to make common cause against a common pest, until the flotilla amounted to ninety-eight prahus, with about 3200 men. Of these, twenty-four prahus were of Sarāwak, manned by 800 Sarāwak Malays. This portion was entirely equipped and victualled at the expence of the Rajah. It may be observed, that the average number of men in the Sarāwak prahus is something lower than in those of the Serebas and Sakarran pirates : the prahus of the latter, though of less tonnage, are of greater size, from overhanging so much at stem and stern. The largest Sarāwak prahu is of about ten tons.

The expedition visited every river between Sarāwak and Serebas, but had not the good fortune to fall in with the enemy. It was led by four boats of the H.E.I.C. steamer *Nemesis*, under the orders of Mr. Goodwin ; while Captain Wallage, with his steamer, guarded the Serebas river. A map of this part of the north-west coast of Borneo is necessary to any reader for whom these movements have particular interest. The expedition, entering the Kaluka, ascended at once both the right and left

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branches of the Lipat and Sussang. The Malays of Lipat, having been found trading with the pirates, received a severe lecture, and were then compelled to furnish guides to the interior of the Rembas branch of the Serebas. About sixty miles from the sea, up the Lipat, a force of 2000 men landed, and, during an absence from the boats of three days, captured several strong-holds of the pirates, destroying large stores of rice and salt. They met with but little resistance ; for, in fact, the enemy were absent about other mischief.

The flotilla now returning towards Serebas, a small advanced boat encountered forty piratical prahus at the entrance of the Rembas. "Smelling a rat," they retreated precipitately, leaving behind many articles very acceptable to the force ; which now, having effected towards the chastisement of the pirates as much as was practicable without a stronger accession of European aid, left the river Serebas, and dispersed to their respective homes. Ten boats, however, from Sadong, being set upon in the night while at anchor by 150 Sakarran prahus, who were on their way to unite with the Serebas fleet in an attempt to surprise the town of Banting, had a severe engagement with them. The odds against them were diminished by the opportune assistance of thirty-five prahus of the Balow Dyaks, who hurried to the scene : by their assistance the Sakarrans were defeated and driven back upon their own river, with loss of four large prahus. But a more important result of this action, together with the

previous movements, was that the union of the Serebas and Sakarran fleets was thus prevented, with all the murder and devastation which their combined forces would have committed. The vessels used by the pirates on this expedition were, strictly speaking, not Malay prahus, but Dyak bangkongs. According to the work they have in hand, they go forth in the heavier or the lighter craft.

Although frustrated in their immediate designs by the movements of the Sarāwak force, it was not likely that the pirate fleets of Serebas and Sakarran, mustering nearly 200 prahus in full equipment, would long suffer their preparations to be wasted by inactivity. A friend, who learned Latin longer than myself, recommends me to announce to the classical world the discovery of the real Hydra of old times, in a pirate fleet : and, after going deep into Lempriere, I think there have been worse hits. I will conclude the chapter learnedly in working it out ; having a start given me thus :—

“ Non Hydra, secto corpore, firmior
Vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem.”

So grew the Hydra's sever'd stumps,
And gave great Hercules the dumps.

No single unfollowed-up blow seems to hurt a set of pirates, any more than a many-headed mythological monster ; and even Hercules despaired of success, single-handed. He was fain to appoint an aide-de-camp to *burn the stumps*, as *he* cut off the heads. How then is

my friend the Rajah to do it alone ? *He* must have help—utterly to destroy the beast. If Sarāwak lops off the heads, England must burn the stumps—or *vice versa*. They must work together. But I have got up my classical parallel a little further. While the hero of old was performing his task, by the help of his friend with the hot poker, *jealousy* sent a *crab* to bite his toes ! Even so is there more than one treacherous, subaqueous tormentor at work, nibbling, but not hurting my friend the Rajah. Biting his foot—interfering with his free movements in some slight degree. But it matters little, while the head remained unimpaired to devise, and the arm to act. Dropping my lesson in Lempriere, I will confidently predict that the Rajah of Sarāwak *will* succeed in *his* Herculean task ; for he keeps his promises, and he has said with Cæsar—

“ I must rid the sea of pirates.”

The next shall be a matter-of-fact chapter, narrating the strongest effort yet made to destroy the Hydra of Serebas.

CHAPTER IX.

ALBATROSS SAILS FROM HONG KONG FOR BORNEO—SIR JAMES BROOKE PROCEEDS ON A MISSION TO SOLOO—HIS RETURN TO SARAWAK—ALBATROSS ARRIVES THERE—PREPARATIONS FOR AGAIN ENCOUNTERING THE SEREBAS PIRATES—EUROPEAN FORCE—NATIVE FORCE—EXPEDITION LEAVES SARAWAK AND ARRIVES OFF THE BATANG LUPAR—ROYALIST SENT TO GUARD THE LINGA—INTELLIGENCE RECEIVED THAT THE PIRATE BALLA HAD PASSED OUT TO SEA—PROCEEDINGS OF THE PIRATES—EXPEDITION TAKES UP A POSITION OFF THE SEREBAS—RETURN OF THE PIRATE FLEET—ITS DESTRUCTION—FURTHER PARTICULARS—PROCEEDINGS OF ANOTHER PORTION OF THE PIRATE BALLA—THEY VISIT THE MAROTABUS—CAPTURE AND DEATH OF HUSSEIN.

ON my arrival in China, the Admiral, Sir Francis Collier, determined that it would be desirable to have some ship-of-war despatched to the coast of Borneo, to supply the *Mæander's* place. Accordingly H.M.S. *Albatross*, Commander Farquhar, sailed for that station on the 18th April. She arrived there on the 18th May.

In the meantime the Rajah had not been idle. After his return from the last mentioned excursion against the pirates, which had the effect of *checking* considerably their devastations, he took advantage of the quiet interval to proceed to Soloo, where he succeeded in forming a treaty with the Sultan, of which the object was to keep

open for the benefit of the mercantile world that improvable field for commercial enterprise. I have noticed in a preceding chapter how this hope has been frustrated by the jealousy of Spain.

On his way back from Soloo, Sir James Brooke touched at Labuan and arranged sundry matters there, reaching Sarāwak again about the end of May, 1849. From this time he was actively engaged in preparations for encountering the Serebas and Sakarran pirates ; and at length, on the 24th July, he had the satisfaction of leaving Sarāwak with such a combined European and Native force, as was certain to give a good account of any fleet of the marauders that might be met with.

The *Mæander* had been expected to arrive in time to share the work cut out ; but as she did not appear, it was determined to proceed with the available strength collected ; and there could have been no misgiving about success in the breast of any one who witnessed the enthusiasm of the parting moment, and heard the cheers with which the picturesque banks of the Sarāwak river echoed as the flotilla got under weigh.

The following comprised the European portion of the force :—

H.M.S. *Royalist*, commanded by Lieutenant Everest.

H.E.I.C. steamer, *Nemesis*, Commander J. Wallage.

Three boats of the H.M.S. *Albatross*, viz. :—Gig, Commander Farquhar, in command. Pinnace, Lieutenant Brickwell. Cutter, Lieutenant Wilmshurst.

The boats of the *Nemesis*, viz. : — Two paddle-box, and a cutter, commanded respectively by Mr. Williams, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Alex. Baker.

The *Royalist's* cutter, Lieutenant Everest.

The *Mæander's* small steam-tender, *Ranee*, Mr. E. W. Baker, engineer in charge.

The Rajah of Sarāwak embarked in his new prahu called the *Singh Rajah* (Lion King), and was accompanied by the following force of prahus, manned by Sarāwak Malays. It will be seen that for names to their prahus the Malays, having no classical dictionary, draw upon the jungle and other dictionaries of *Nature* with success.

MALAY NAMES.	ENGLISH NAMES.	NUMBER OF MEN.
Singh Rajah	Lion King	70
Rajah Wali	Eagle	60
Hariman	Tiger	45
Ular	Snake	30
Nuri	A Species of Parrot	35
Pinyu	Turtle	40
Peniangat	A small Species of Bee	35
Kijung	Deer	35
Buaya	Alligator	50
Ani Ani	White Ant	20
Katak	Frog	25
Agam	Chicken	35
Merapati	Pigeon	30
Tupai	Squirrel	25
Alang-laut	Sea Kite	40
Bujang-brani	Brave Bachelor	25
Layang Layang	Swallow	20
Tipit	Sparrow	20

These were afterwards joined by the Orang Kaya of Lundu, with about 300 men in prahus of different sizes.

Later still came the Linga Dyaks, about 800 strong. Smaller detachments likewise joined from Samarahan, Sadong, and other tributary rivers, whose inhabitants had all alike suffered from the depredations of the Serebas pirates. The total native force amounted to about seventy fighting prahus, manned by about 2500 men.

Early on the morning of the 24th July, the *Nemesis* started with H.M. brig *Royalist*, and the *Ranee* steam-tender in tow, the *Albatross* being left at Sarāwak. The European boats followed, and this division of the force anchored on the night of the 24th off the Marotabus entrance to the Sarāwak river. The native boats dropped down with the ebb-tide, and presented an animated appearance,—streamers flying from their three slender masts, and gongs beating. The Rajah's prahu brought up the rear.

On the morning of the 25th, the *Nemesis* took in tow the European force, and, standing out sufficiently to avoid the shoals, brought them to the entrance of the Batang Lupar at 5 P.M. The boats were anchored in line across its mouth ; and the *Nemesis*, proceeding up the river with the *Royalist*, left her off the Linga branch ; after which, she returned to the boats, and proceeded with them, early on the morning of the 26th, towards the Serebas, off which she anchored at 3 P.M., to await the arrival of the native force.

The next page is from the journal of a gentleman who was in the Rajah's prahu.

“ 26th July.—The whole mosquito squadron are under sail along shore, and afford an interesting sight, their white sails standing out distinct from the dark, jungled shore. Anchored at night just within the mouth of the Sibuyow. The natives were soon variously at work; some with their parangs waded up the muddy bank to the nepah, the leaves of which they cut for roofing, and the pith for food. Others threw their jallah, or round fine nets, over the shallow places, to secure a fish meal; and some others more successfully fished with a seine. All was peaceful and safe, although we were disposed along the banks of a river where some few years ago piratical expeditions were of daily occurrence, and this destructive state of things continued until the dwellings all disappeared, and the inhabitants fled.

“ Towards sunset a remarkable circumstance occurred : —vultures apparently, but in reality huge bats (*pteropus*), began to fly over where we sat at dinner, *al fresco*, and continued to do so for nearly half an hour, some soaring very high, and others at less distances. Shortly after the last bird had passed, or even before, they began to return exactly the opposite way, and so disappeared. Not having a *Calchas* in our fleet, we could only determine, as many wise people do, *after* the events of the next few days, whether the omen was a lucky one.

“ In the evening we amused ourselves with drawing up a code of signals, in a council of four. When written,

it was sent, accompanied by a formal circular, to all the prahus having European commanders.

“ 28th.—*Nemesis* is in sight ; and the European force anchored some way out amongst the flats of the Serebas. Captain Farquhar came on board this evening ; and a boom, or council of war, attended by the chiefs, was held on the deck of the *Singh Rajah*.”

On the evening of the 28th, intelligence was received that a large pirate fleet, or balla, had left the Serebas early on the morning of the 26th, and had stood to the northward. They had thus just slipped out a few hours before the arrival of our force. The informant had only escaped them by breaking up his boat, and hiding himself in the jungle, where he saw them all go past. It was believed that the capture and plunder of the town of Siriki, on the Rejang, was their immediate object. To intercept their return was the determination immediately formed by Captain Farquhar and the Rajah ; and measures were promptly taken for this end. Sir James Brooke, with part of the Sarāwak force—about twelve large well-armed prahus, and two man-of-war cutters, made for the Kaluka, a river more to the north-east, but having an inland communication with the Serebas. They took up a position across its mouth, concealed from the outside by a bend at its entrance.

The intervening space between the river Serebas and the Kaluka is a sandy flat, called Tanjong Marrow, projecting seaward between two and three miles. Outside

the southernmost point of this flat, called Buting Marrow, the *Nemesis* anchored in the middle of the stream ; the other men-of-war's boats, and forty native prahus, under the Datu Tumangong of Sarāwak, extending from her, in an oblique line, towards the entrance of the Serebas, the European boats being nearest to the *Nemesis*. Twelve or fifteen prahus took their position on the opposite side of the river, under the Orang Kaya of Lundu : and a few were detached here and there.

The habit of these pirates, when attacked, is to provide for an escape to the jungle, rather than stand out to sea. The arrangements now made were as complete as was practicable for cutting off their homeward flight ; at least an immense sacrifice of their force was thus insured.

Fast-pulling scout-boats were kept on the look-out in the offing, with orders to convey by signal the earliest intimation of the pirates' approach.

The whole force remained in suspense during the three following days. I will use this interim to state what the pirates were about : for be it known to all who deny on their behalf their character and deeds, that they themselves are very candid about the matter ; and every particular might be learned from some of the chiefs, who afterwards visited Sarāwak to make their submission to the Rajah.

Their fleet consisted of 150 prahus ; in every prahu were muskets, and some carried brass guns, besides the usual armament of spears and swords, &c. Very few of

the prahus carried less than thirty men, while some had as many as seventy. The great chiefs, and almost all the principal Malays of Serebas and Sakarran, were in the fleet, which was collected from Rembas, Paku, Padi, Liar, &c.—all places in the Serebas River. Nearly all the adult people were there, either from choice or compulsion.

The piratical fleet, on leaving the Serebas, proceeded to the entrance of the Niabur River, and from thence to the Palo. They made an attempt on the town of Siriki, but found the inhabitants too well prepared for them. On the town of Palo they levied a large contribution of rice and salt, and thence proceeded to the bay of Lassa, capturing on the way a trading prahu laden with sago, which they plundered. From the Bay of Lassa they proceeded to attack the town of Mato, near which place they captured two other trading vessels, one laden with sago, *bound for Sincapore*; the other *lateley arrived from Sincapore*, with a cargo of cotton goods. These vessels were unfortunately lying outside the defences: they were accordingly first plundered and then burnt.

N.B. Sincapore has, nevertheless, produced an address to Mr. Hume (which will be hereafter examined), expressive of doubts whether the Serebas are pirates!

Repulsed from Mato, and hearing that there was a force on the look-out for them, the pirates turned homewards; and at length, towards evening on the 31st July, the *Ular* scout-boat brought in the intelligence, so welcome

after three days of watching, that the piratical balla was rapidly approaching the Kaluka in two divisions.

Several parties from the boats were amusing themselves on shore ; but an intimation of what was coming soon brought back those within hail. Three, however, who had landed from the Rajah's prahu, to shoot wild hog, deer, or curlew, returned not with the rest ; nor were they missed in the first moments of excitement on the appearance of the enemy. Suddenly, however, their absence was perceived, and the imminent peril to which they were now exposed flashed across their comrades' minds. Should the pirates, taking early alarm, seek an escape in that direction, they were sure to fall in with them. It seemed to their friends almost impossible for a boat to reach them before some of the enemy would have effected a landing ; and *then*, if they had been found at all, they would inevitably have been headless. The Rajah was suffering under an attack of fever and ague ; and this suspense,—painful enough to all on board,—was doubly so to him, as one of the missing party was his nephew, Captain Brooke. A boat, however, which was immediately despatched, happily returned with the stragglers, to the great relief of all on board. They had been led on too far for prudence by the fresh tracks of game.

At the first announcement of the enemy's approach a rocket was sent up to warn the *Nemesis*. The pirate fleet was now advancing rapidly, with a strong flood-tide, for the entrance of the river Kaluka, across which the

Rajah's division was stationed. He instantly formed into a more compact line ; and the enemy, after approaching near enough to see that passage guarded, steered for the Serebas entrance, passing at long gun-shot distance.

The two cutters stationed in the Kaluka, under command of Lieutenants Everest and Wilmshurst, then advanced in chase, leaving the Rajah still to occupy his position, which was too important to be unguarded. He was consequently in ignorance of what took place from this time, and passed the night in exciting, though confident suspense. The signal, which he knew so well to be the summons to a council,—namely, the sound of three successive strokes on the gong,—fell upon his ear ; then ensued an impressive stillness for about twenty minutes. Suddenly the splash of paddles was heard, and, with a fearful war-yell, the pirates were again in excited and rapid motion.

The decision taken by them was to force the Serebas entrance. Here Captain Farquhar was in readiness ; and to his movements we now return.

After the boom, or council, held on board the *Singh Rajah*, Captain Farquhar, leaving the *Rajah* to guard the Kaluka, proceeded on board the steamer, to make his further arrangements. Scout-boats conveyed to him also the intelligence of the approach of the balla in two divisions. In less than half an hour the signal-rocket announced that they were passing the Kaluka, and their movements could be distinctly traced from on board the

Nemesis by the splashing sound of their paddles, while their fleet was yet enveloped in darkness.

As the pirate fleet sighted the steamer, they first became aware of the extreme peril of their situation ; and at this moment both Captain Farquhar and the Rajah, although eight miles apart, heard with equal distinctness the council summoned by beat of gong ; and then, after the pause,—rendered more solemn by the complete darkness which had come on,—the same yell of defiance reached both divisions.

A rambling exchange of shots now commenced ; this, accompanied by the discharge of musketry, increased as the opposite parties closed. The pirates were hemmed in on every side.

The entrance of the Serebas, by which they hoped to escape, was found to be guarded by the Datu Tumangong and his son Abong Pata, with a detachment of forty prahus. The pirates now came into immediate contact with the men-of-war boats ; a continued discharge of musketry was kept up, but they were too much panic-stricken, and bent on escape, to use their arms with any effect, and were soon thrown into the greatest confusion. Eighty of their bangkongs were speedily run on shore, while the rest, in detached parties, sought to escape by sea. Seventeen of the larger prahus, avoiding the shoal, attempted to pass the steamer, and were there destroyed.

A series of encounters followed, extending from the mouth of the Kaluka to the further side of the Serebas.

On this occasion, the loss of life was almost exclusively on one side. The darkness was greatly in favour of the English force. The pirates could not see the danger into which they were running.

The excitement caused by the reports of firearms—by the bright flashes from the guns—by the blue lights burnt by the man-of-war boats to distinguish friend from foe—the glare of the rockets, while passing through the air—and the yells of defiance from both sides,—was increased by the obscurity, and by the extended nature of the operations ; for the combatants were spread, at one time, over a space of not less than ten miles.

The result of the night's action became visible with the morning light. On the eastern point, or Buting Marrow, lay upwards of sixty deserted prahus ; and on the beach, for a long distance, were strewed the *débris* of the large pirate fleet. Boats which had been swamped were carried backwards and forwards by the tide. About 2500 of the enemy sought refuge in the jungle.

Upwards of eighty prahus and bangkongs were captured ; many from sixty to eighty feet long, with nine or ten beam.

It is difficult to calculate the exact number of the killed. Four hundred must have fallen during the night's action ; and many, dying afterwards from wounds and exposure, would swell the loss of the pirates. Five hundred is the number certified by the Judge of the Court of Admiralty ; and the result of the best information which has been

procurable would fix the total loss of pirates at eight hundred : but perfect accuracy on this point is impossible.

The next morning was occupied in destroying the captured prahus.

Orders were given to shew mercy to any of the pirates who wished to give themselves up ; but mercy is not understood by these people, either in name or in reality : and, indeed, the few wounds which were received by any of our men were the penalty of their humane endeavours to save the pirates from drowning. These latter, when they took to the water, invariably did so in full fighting costume,—sword in one hand and shield in the other,—rendering any effort of humanity most perilous. They are indeed a desperate race, and utterly reckless either of their enemies' life or their own : nor do they spare age or sex. Even in their confused and precipitate retreat, on this night, they found time to perpetrate great atrocities. The mangled and headless trunk of a woman was found among their deserted plunder. She was ascertained to be a captive from Palo. When unable to carry her off, these “inoffensive traders” had severed her head, and vented their disappointment by the mutilation of the body.

I have before stated that the chiefs of these tribes do not attempt to deny their evil deeds. On a subsequent visit, made by some of them to the Rajah at Sarāwak, one of note, whose name was Lingire, told him that his bang-kong was one of the largest in the balla, with a crew of seventy men, and that he was advancing with the rest

of them ;—the panic, however, when they found the entrances to the Serebas and Kaluka guarded, was complete : everybody lost his senses, and each boat thought only of reaching home : in the confusion he took a line of his own, and, by various manœuvres, succeeded in threading his way through the belligerents unscathed. Turning the head of his boat seaward, he was at one moment very near running into the centre of the man-of-war boats, where Captain Farquhar was in his gig. He then turned towards the steamer, and, cheering his men, exhorted them to pull for their lives and on no account to jump overboard. He succeeded in passing in shore of the *Nemesis* ; and then taking a sweep out to sea, to avoid the Sarāwak force under the Tumangong, as well as a detachment of Lundu Dyaks, under Mr. Steel of Sarāwak, he effected an entrance in rear of everything to the Serebas ; and, his men pulling as they had never pulled before, he succeeded in taking the first account of the disasters sustained by his companions to their anxious families.

It was determined, in a consultation held on the morning of the 1st August, to follow up immediately the heavy blow thus inflicted on piracy, and to show those who had escaped that punishment could reach them even in their distant homes. But before attending Captain Farquhar and the Rajah up the rivers, I ought to mention the simultaneous piratical performances of another portion of this very balla. They act so as not

to have all their eggs in one nest. Descending the Serebas as part of the great balla, six prahus detached themselves when clear of the river, and stood to the westward. They first paid their unwelcome visit off Sambas, where they robbed and murdered a few unfortunate Chinese fishermen. Off the island of Serhassan they captured a trading prahu. Returning thence, they suddenly appeared before the village at the Marotabus entrance of the Sarāwak—only twenty miles from the Rajah's capital. They gave as a reason for their visit, that "some time had elapsed since they had taken any Sarāwak heads; they were now, therefore, come to help themselves." Accordingly, they landed a force and attacked the village. It was obstinately defended, and the pirates were ultimately repulsed, but with loss of life on both sides. They then took possession of a small trading prahu bound to Kaluka, putting the owner and five men to death. A poor Kling, who was supercargo, tried hard to escape on shore by swimming; but, before he reached the landing-place, he received a spear-wound, as well as a fearful sword-cut; he still managed to crawl under the house, and, climbing a post, got in through the lantie floor: there tottering to a corner, he rolled himself up in a mat, and died. The only man who escaped was a Malay, named Lahat, who jumped overboard after seeing his father and two uncles massacred.

After this last exploit the same piratical detachment continued their course eastward; chased a few fishermen,

who escaped ; and then standing out to sea, fell in with a worthy Malay, named Hussein, nephew to the Datu Tumangong of Sarāwak. I had, during my former visits to Sarāwak, many a day's sport with him in the jungle. He was proceeding in a sanpan with six men, to trade at Sadong, and had with him 300 dollars in cash. On being chased by the swift pirate bangkongs, he defended himself bravely, but was run down ; and this poor fellow was put to death, with all his crew. The whole affair was plainly seen from the shore.

Three months after this transaction, when the pirates appeared at Sarāwak to make their submission, some of *them* gave the following account of it. They said that, after leaving the Marotabus, they gave chase to the sanpan in which Hussein was. As they approached, he commenced firing with his rifle, and shot three of their men : as they came on him, he rose up and hurled his spear at one of the chiefs, inflicting a severe wound on the cheek. Before he could offer any further resistance, his boat was run down, and all were killed. In confirmation of their account, they actually produced poor Hussein's head, his spear, and gold-handled parang. At the request of his relations, they gave up the head.

CHAPTER X.

EXPEDITION ASCENDS THE SEREBAS RIVER AND THE PAKU BRANCH—ACCIDENT TO THE
 RANEE—TWO SONS AND NEPHEW OF THE ORANG KAYA OF LUNDU KILLED—HIS
 GRIEF AND DEPARTURE WITH HIS TRIBE—PAKU DESTROYED—SEREBAS JACK—
 EXPEDITION PROCEEDS UP THE REJANG—CUSTOMS OF THE MILLANOWS—SIRIKI—
 KANOWIT RIVER—COUNTRY OF THE SAKARRAN PIRATES—ITS FERTILITY—NATIVE
 FORCE FROM MATO—YOUTHFUL DYAK PRISONER—HIS LIBERATION—EXPEDITION
 DESCENDS THE REJANG—NATIVE AUXILIARIES DISMISSED—RAJAH GIVES AN
 AUDIENCE TO SOME PIRATE CHIEFS—NEMESIS PROCEEDS UP THE REJANG TO THE
 COUNTRY OF THE KANOWITS—MAN OVERBOARD SAVED BY A MALAY—PROOFS OF
 PIRACY—FINES INFLICTED AND ENFORCED—HOW AFTERWARDS DISPOSED OF—
 EXPEDITION RETURNS TO SARAWAK.

To resume our narrative of Captain Farquhar's operations.

After a couple of days spent in securing prisoners and destroying such of the captured boats as were not required for use, the expedition advanced on the 2nd August up the Serebas river, and in the afternoon the force anchored near the entrance of the Paku branch.

The next day, the *Nemesis* and the heaviest prahus being left behind, the lighter boats and captured bang-kongs were in requisition to ascend the river.

The surviving pirates had thus the satisfaction of providing their chastisers with the means of visiting them at their own homes, and of easing them of some of their ill-gotten wealth, carrying it away in the same bangkongs which had been equipped for their own lawless purposes.

In this ascent of the river, the small steamer *Ranee*, attended by the man-of-war boats, led the way. Then followed a dense mass of several hundred native boats, eager for plunder—they were with the greatest difficulty kept back; a rushing tide swept them all up together. In the midst of the confusion, the branch of a tree carried away the *Ranee's* funnel. Grounding forward at the same time, she was swept by the current across the narrow river. The steam was let off with the usual noise; whereupon our native followers, not knowing what the horrid creature was going to do, tried in vain to get out of the way,—some jumping into the water,—some into other boats, which they accordingly swamped,—some religiously bowing their heads, and resigning themselves to Allah,—all under a sense of imminent peril; indeed, the confusion can be better conceived than described.

As the invading force advanced up the river, they found the usual means resorted to, to check their progress to Paku: trees were felled, and thrown across the stream; and it was frequently necessary to land parties on either bank, who could ascend and cut a boat passage through these barriers.

In one place, nine huge trees had been felled, and one

so immense as effectually to arrest further progress. For the purpose of clearing away these obstacles, a party of Dyaks landed, headed by three sons of the chief of Lundu; out of a foolish contempt for their enemies, they took neither fighting jacket nor shield. Advancing carelessly in disregard of repeated cautions, they penetrated too far into the jungle, and while drawing some ranjows from the ground, they were pounced upon by a number of the enemy, who were lying in ambush; before succour could be obtained, two were cut down, and the head of one of them was taken.

I should explain that a ranjow is a spike made from the hard part of the bamboo, and cunningly stuck into the ground to wound the feet. It is a most formidable contrivance in a country where no shoes are worn; but on a former occasion I saw a ranjow pass clean through the *shoe* of Sir James Brooke, who the moment before had cautioned me to beware of the same danger.

The unfortunate sufferers on the present occasion were both sons of the Orang Kaya of Lundu. This fine old chief had always been a favourite with the Europeans, from his unbounded gratitude and attachment to the Rajah; and much sympathy was shown at his distress. Although aged, he was still handsome. He had many an interesting tale to tell of his youthful adventures. When Mr. Brooke first visited Sarāwak in 1840, this chief was suffering by the same wretched system of government, which had oppressed many others

within reach of Muda Hassim's sway—and most of his tribe had been dispersed. As soon as Mr. Brooke became powerful, he extended his protection to Lundu ; by an advance of money, the village was rebuilt—many of the missing tribe collected—and the old man's happiness and content increased exceedingly. He was justly proud of his sons, and particularly partial to Tujong, the youngest ; he had on the present occasion brought three of them with him, and a son-in-law, to join in chastising those enemies who had been the cause of his many troubles. Alas ! the Serebas had now possessed themselves of the head of one brave boy, and had slain another.

It was ascertained afterwards that the three brothers were advancing through the jungle in the usual single file, the second leading, when a tiger-like spring from the bush was made on poor Bunsie, and he was cut down. His slayer was the redoubtable Dyak Chief, Lingire himself, near to whose residence the flotilla were advancing. A fierce and desperate struggle ensued between the youngest son and a Malay, named Abong Apong : he was son-in-law to the Laksimana of Paku, the chief who led the late recent severe foray at Sadong. Each combatant was armed with shield and sword : but, assistance coming to his enemy, Tujong received the fatal blow ; before, however, the fallen man could be decapitated, a musket-shot fired by Tujong's party passed through the shield, and entered the body of the man

who had come to Abong Apong's assistance, making him likewise bite the dust.

Kalong, the eldest of the three, who was in rear of his brothers, saw the danger just in time to fall back, and bring up the assistance which saved his youngest brother's head, but not his life.

Kalong had also had his share of fighting. On the night of the late action, the moon was shining brightly, and he had chased one of the Serebas bangkongs aground. A young pirate chief jumped out, and invited any one of his pursuers to single combat. The challenge was immediately accepted by Kalong: wading on shore, he was soon engaged in mortal strife with his enemy, whom he shortly slew. The younger brother, Tujong, was to be seen standing in the water, ready to take up the combat, should Kalong have been worsted.

When the Orang Kaya reached the *Nemesis*, after the sad loss of his two sons, he found that one of his nephews had just been killed by the accidental discharge of a musket. Here the poor old man, completely overcome, burst into a flood of tears; and holding up the same number of fingers, intimated that the loss of three in one day was more than he could bear. Having obtained permission from the Rajah, he departed for Lundu with the remainder of his gallant little band, to bury his children near their native village with all the accustomed ceremonies.

On the second evening after entering the Serebas, the

expedition anchored off the site of old Paku, which had been destroyed on a former occasion by the *Dido's* boats. New Paku was now taken, after a little skirmishing, and destroyed by fire.

Stragglers who had escaped from the piratical balla at Buting Marrow were occasionally fallen in with. Sometimes a raft was met with ; or a boat made from the bark of a tree, freshly sewn together with strips from the rattan, and stiffened with pieces of bamboo. Some wounded man had, in all probability been conveyed across the water by these hurried means of transit.

A stout fellow was taken one dark night, floating up with the tide, in a canoe of this description, by some of the Malays who had been left with the steamer : he made a desperate resistance, and severely wounded one of his captors. He was conveyed to the *Nemesis* ; and, as he refused to give any name, he was called by the seamen Serebas Jack. On the return of the Rajah, who had been absent some days, Serebas Jack fully expected that sentence of death would be passed upon him ; and his spirits rose wonderfully when he found that his life was to be spared. He became a great favourite with the Europeans. Before the steamer left the river, he begged hard to be allowed to go home, said that he was a very poor man, and had left some little children who would starve, as there was no one to look after them. This story rather moved the Rajah ; but the great difficulty was to protect him from the numerous parties of Dyaks

attached to the expedition, who, though they went out under pretence of foraging, would, if they caught him alone, inevitably take his head. The Rajah, however, took such an interest in Serebas Jack, that he directed a guard of his Malays to escort him past all danger.

Some weeks afterwards,—when the Serebas chiefs went to Sarāwak, to make their submission to the Rajah,—he descried in the crowd among the followers of the Chief Lingire the physiognomy of Serebas Jack, who evidently, although ill at ease, had something to communicate. After the audience was over, and the chiefs with their followers had departed, Serebas Jack found his way to the Rajah, and with dejected countenance opened the conversation by asking forgiveness for the part he had acted. “He had deceived the Rajah ; he was not the poor man he had stated himself to be ; he was a chief, powerful and rich ; his name was Kabo, and he was a brother-in-law of Lingire.”

After promising to abstain from such acts for the future, he admitted that he had been fond of piratical pursuits : that he had always accompanied the other chiefs when they went in grand ballas, filling up the intervals by a little private business on his own account.

On the 7th August, the expedition returned from the neighbourhood of Paku, and made their rendezvous around the *Nemesis*, in the Serebas.

When the news of the defeat extended to the piratical villages up the Rembas, several captive women, nine of

them of high rank, took advantage of the confusion that occurred to effect their escape. They had been captured at Sadong, and made slaves : they succeeded in seizing a small canoe ; and, hiding themselves by day, and cautiously paddling down in the dark, after enduring many privations they reached Linga in an exhausted state : here they were among friends, and within easy distance of their homes.

The object of the expedition was now to be followed up in another direction ; and, on the 9th August, the steamer and boats reached Rejang.

This town is inhabited by a tribe of Millanows, who differ from both Malays and Dyaks more in habits and customs than in appearance. It is raised some forty feet from the ground on huge piles, and has been frequently described. Nothing but insecurity and habitual plunder could have originated the erection of such an uncomfortable kind of dwelling. The people here were found well prepared for a siege. Independently of *lepas* (small brass guns), they had piles of large stones, and hot oil with which to anoint the heads of unwelcome visitors : the surrounding grounds were studded with *ranjows* and cunningly-contrived pitfalls. It is from this place that an attempt has more than once been made to carry on a trade in sago with Singapore, which, but for the harassing interference of the pirates, would have become very important. Some of their trading *prahus* measured sixty feet in length, by seventeen beam.

Although the Millanows do not preserve the heads of their enemies, a young warrior will occasionally bear home such a trophy with the same sort of pleasure with which a young fox-hunter takes home his first brush. On this occasion, a juvenile aspirant to love and glory, who had accompanied the expedition and wished to display a prize he had won, was met on landing by the women, who had already spied the relic from their elevated platform on the bank. They descended to meet it with a stick in each hand, and began to play on the unfortunate head, as if it had been a tomtom. After this performance, each in turn rushed into the river, as if to cleanse herself from the pollution. Although these gentle creatures did not strike with any violence, it was as much as the young hero could do to prevent his trophy from being pommelled into a jelly.

On the 11th August, after having wooded the steamer, the expedition moved higher up the Rejang, and anchored off the branch leading to Siriki. Alligators abound in these streams ; and the rhinoceros is said to be numerous in the interior.

After ascending this magnificent river, which for eighty miles up would admit a line-of-battle ship, they came to, on the 14th, off the mouth of the Kanowit,—a stream which had never yet been ascended by Europeans.

In the course of the progress of the expedition up the Rejang, the Rajah was waited on by the Panguerans and most of the influential men from Oya, Muka, Siriki, and

Igan, who gave many well-sounding assurances as to their good intentions, in return for which they received much wholesome counsel.

Leaving the steamer, the lighter part of the flotilla ascended the Kanowit branch, in the direction of the Serebas country. It is thickly populated by the Sakarran and other tribes, who had long assisted in manning the piratical ballas.

Many of the Dyak allies had returned home ; but the native force accompanying the Rajah still consisted of about 2000 men.

The object being to punish the guilty, particular orders were given to spare all unresisting men ; and on no account were women or children to be molested. These orders were scrupulously attended to ; and, although there were very few of the attacking party who had not suffered, or who had not on some occasion lost a relation by the hands of the people whose country they were now invading, still no act of cruelty occurred.

The progress up the Kanowit was slow, by reason of the rapidity of the stream, and the freshets after the rain ; the inhabitants had thus ample time to decamp, but their villages and farm-houses were destroyed. In every house evidence was found of their fondness for human heads ; they met our senses in every stage of what was considered preservation,—from the old and dried-up, and therefore less offensive, to the fresh-baked, and therefore very unpleasant specimen.

The whole country on either bank of this river is rich and fertile in the extreme. Fields of cotton, sugarcane, and padi, with cocoa-nut and fruit-trees in variety, grow in the greatest luxuriance. Pigs in hundreds, ducks and poultry without number, proved that these people were robbers from choice, and not from necessity.

In every house cotton-looms for making cloth were found. The country at each mile improved in beauty: the scenery was varied by hill and dale; while a succession of open spaces, cleared for cultivation, gave evidence of a dense population well able to enrich themselves by honest industry. Our party were informed that, if they continued to advance for the next four days, they would still find the country continue to improve.

The Sakarrans prided themselves on being able to send out eighty bangkongs, manned by 2800 warriors. Confident in their own strength, they had never taken any extraordinary measures for their defence: they little expected a visit from an organised body of 2000 Malays and Dyaks, led by an European Rajah of Sarāwak, and a handful of Englishmen. The unwelcome visitors, however, were come at last, penetrating upwards of one hundred miles into the interior of their country; come to convince them that such atrocities as had disgraced them for so many years could no longer be committed with impunity.

Enough, however, had now been done in the way of chastisement for one occasion; "for while," the Rajah

well observed, "we stopped far short of driving them to desperation, we still made them feel that they were no longer secure from punishment, even in their remotest retreats."

On the 18th August the expedition again dropped down the Kanowit. On their way they met some twenty bangkongs from Mato, a place recently destroyed by the pirates. This was a detachment from a large force which the Mato people had left at the mouth of the river. They were handsome boats, about sixty feet in length; swift, light, and well armed. It was the first time they ever had the courage to enter these dangerous waters, and they were not a little disappointed—especially as they were smarting under such recent injuries—at having to turn back without being allowed to settle accounts with their oppressors.

Among the prisoners taken in the course of this expedition was a Dyak boy about nine years old, whose father, as well as a brother, were in the pirate balla, and fell on the night of 31st July. This boy was brought to the Rajah's prahu. He was an intelligent little fellow, Ranjah by name: after a while he appeared quite at home; smoked a cigar; ate and chatted away as unconcerned as possible. When the boats, on their return, approached his late home, he stated that he knew where some jars with many valuables had been buried: they were found at the spot pointed out by him. The moment they were put on board, Ranjah thought that he had

paid sufficiently for his ransom ; and, with tears in his eyes, for the first time begged that he might be put on shore, "If I let you go," said the Rajah, "how will you find your way to your friends ; for three days they have left their houses ?" "If you let me go" answered the boy, "I will find my way ; I know the jungle well, and my mother will not be far away, as she does not know what has become of me." The Malays who were present said it was very true ; and that at his age it would be quite safe to trust a Dyak to his own guidance and instinct. When the Rajah told him he should have his liberty, and gave him some clothes, he soon forgot his tears ; and having received everything he asked for, such as a wine-glass, a tin of preserved meat, and a few minor articles, he was anxious to get away, to shew his mother what the Tuan Besar (Great Sir) had given him ; a packet of food was made up, sufficient to last him three days, to which was added a bottle of water. He embarked in a canoe under the care of a trustworthy Malay and a well-armed escort, and was landed near where his mother's house once stood : he was guarded beyond the reach of any of the scattered bands from the expedition, and then left to find his own way.

This boy had excited much interest among the Europeans. From his brother, who subsequently visited Sarāwak, it was ascertained that for two days Ranjah had wandered on in the jungle path before he met any of his tribe : he had been careful of his provisions, and

had plenty left when he was fallen in with. The treatment of this child had a good effect upon the Sakarran Dyaks, as was proved by the confidence with which numbers of them afterwards visited the "Lion's Den" at Sarāwak.

In the evening the expedition came to an anchor in the Rejang. The greater part of the auxiliary native force, having permission, returned to their homes.

Tane, the petty chief of some Rejang Dyaks, well acquainted with the people of the river, came on board to know if the Rajah would give an audience to the pirate chiefs, who had followed him down the river for that purpose.

They came on board at nine o'clock. The chief spokesman was a tall, raw-boned fellow, but he had rather a pleasant expression of countenance. His name was Jawi. They came from a creek, up which was the only village house that had offered any resistance : they were fine specimens of Dyaks, wearing long black hair, and a number of brass rings, as well in their ears as round their arms and legs. It is a common caution on the coast, to "beware of a Dyak with a profusion of rings ; he is sure to be one of the pirate band."

A long conference was held. Jawi said it was very true that they went head-hunting ; and he admitted that they were indifferent as to whose head they took, or whose property they plundered, as long as they could exchange it for salt and iron : but he contended that these

were not the habits of the community ; that it was all done by the hot-blooded young men, who were difficult to control. If the community agreed to abstain for ever from piracy, would the Rajah punish the whole, for the acts of a few ?

The Rajah replied that he would endeavour to spare the well-disposed ; but, he added, conversing in the Dyak style, “If you see sparrows devouring your rice, do you not try to kill them ? and if by chance some linnets are amongst them, do they not run the same risk as the company they keep ? In a flock of birds it is impossible to distinguish the good from the bad.”

Jawi in the end found that he got the worst of the argument ; so they promised to do their best to endeavour to persuade Buah Ryah of Insabi, the chief of the Kanowit River, to enter into an agreement with them to give up their piratical and head-hunting cruises.

Before taking their departure, they requested permission to see the dreaded fire-ship that had done such fearful execution on the night of the fight :—they had never seen one before. They looked about ; and after partaking of brandy and water appeared quite at their ease.

On the 19th August, the *Nemesis*, taking in tow the *Singh Rajah* and European boats, proceeded up the Rejang, to inquire into the proceedings of the Kanowit Dyaks, who had long been the great receivers of plundered property. In the evening they anchored near two long houses, raised, like the others, on piles forty feet high,

full of natives ; one faced the river, the other was situated up the creek. These buildings contained no fewer than 1500 people.

At night a conference was held. They could neither deny nor excuse the charge brought against them, not only of being in league with the pirates, but of occasionally joining their balla ; in proof of which human heads were found in their houses. They were glad to get off with no heavier punishment than a fine. The Kanowits are a tattooed race.

While the conference was going on, a splash was heard as of a man in the water ; and the rapid current, in spite of every one being on the *qui vive*, and lights at hand, soon carried the object out of sight. While the Europeans were yet wondering and gaping about, a young Malay, called Anah Ular (snake's child), plunged into the river, and striking out down the stream, grasped, just as he was sinking, the hand of one of the *Royalist's* crew.

The fines, which consisted of brass guns and jars, were slow in forthcoming, until some little demonstration was made on the part of the Rajah towards helping himself.

These guns and jars were afterwards sold by public auction at Sarāwak ; and the proceeds were applied to rewarding the captors of prisoners taken without being hurt—a regulation of the Rajah, and an example that will have its effect in introducing a more humane system of warfare.

On the 22nd, the expedition quitted the Rejang. Several Siriki prahus took advantage of the convoy to exchange the oppressive government of Seriff Musahur (the Fortunate), for the more mild rule of the Rajah of Sarāwak, at which place they all arrived on the 24th August, 1849.

Such were this year's operations against these hordes, than whom few more formidable infest the Eastern Archipelago. The blow they then received is the greatest contribution yet made by England towards the security of the highway of nations. How long its effect will last is a problem resolvable by those general rules which apply to human nature and human operations of any kind. After vigorous measures to eradicate a disease, we are commended to a systematic care of health restored ; if this be left to take care of itself, the morbid symptoms quickly re-appear.

It seems almost ludicrous that the facts just narrated should require any sequel in the shape of a defence. Nevertheless, sundry public speeches and proceedings lie before me, testifying that some minds will remain unconvinced, even while the majority of understandings would be affronted by the offer of more proof. I shall now therefore follow up the subject as I proposed, first adverting to the charges publicly made against all concerned in the chastisement of the Bornean pirates ; and then offering *my* answer to them, as a small contribution to the cause of truth.

In the meantime I may fitly close this chapter with the words of a well-informed writer in the Singapore *Free Press*, who in February 1850, six months after the destruction of the Serebas fleet, bore this testimony to the change which it had already caused in the commercial sphere within its influence :—

“ A few, a very few years ago, no European merchant-vessels ventured on the north-west coast of Borneo ; now they are numerous and safe. Formerly, shipwrecked crews were attacked, robbed, and enslaved ; now they are protected, fed, and forwarded to a place of safety. The native trade now passes with careless indifference over the very same track, between Malludu and Sincapore, where but a little while ago it was liable to the peril of capture ; the crews of hundreds of prahus are no longer exposed to the loss of life or the loss of liberty ; and a degree of security now reigns, so remarkably contrasted with the insecurity of past time, that we may well be tempted onward in a career recommended by policy and tested by experience. The recent successful proceedings on the coast of Borneo have been followed by the submission of the pirate hordes of Serebas and Sakarran. The previous relaxation of the system had led to renewed outbreaks of piracy, to fresh depredations at sea, and to the loss of many guiltless lives.

“ What further evidence is needed on this subject ? ” the writer of the article proceeds to ask. “ Or, is it resolved, in spite of all, to sacrifice the innocent to the

guilty, the trader to the pirate, the cultivator to the marauder, the peaceful to the turbulent, the oppressed to the oppressor ? We are confident that the foolish, because ignorant, outcry which has been raised on this subject cannot long continue. It must be at an end as soon as people take the trouble to learn, or have fairly placed before them the real truth."

CHAPTER XI.

REPLY TO CHARGES MADE BY MR. HUME, PARTICULARLY AS THEY AFFECT
SIR JAMES BROOKE.

I HAVE now related those proceedings against the pirates of Borneo in 1849, on which, both in and out of Parliament (always, I believe, under the same hidden influences), the gravest charges have been reiterated against those of Her Majesty's servants upon whom was imposed the duty of striking a decisive blow at piracy.

My next task is to refute those charges, particularly as they affect my truly noble friend, Sir James Brooke.

Mr. Hume has now twice moved for "inquiry" into those "massacres of inoffensive people;" and he observes correctly that such charges must, unless inquired into, "blast Sir James Brooke's character." I grant it; but I deny Mr. Hume's exclusive right to dictate a mode of inquiry, or to repudiate an inquiry already made.

Mr. Hume *may* at some time of his life have had a regard for some respectable man's character, even if he now has little for his own. In *any* one's case in which he

ever felt an interest, has he not been accustomed to consider the *acclamation* of an *ordinary* grand jury, the most decisive acquittal that could befall a character assailed? How is it, then, that aspersions cast upon Sir James Brooke in 1850, and rejected by a majority of 169 *in* Parliament, and by all England—for so it may be said—out of Parliament, are reproduced by the man who declares in the same breath, that “it will be a great satisfaction to him if it should turn out that he has taken too strong a view—an erroneous view?” Moved originally by public considerations, might not patriotism be satisfied when 169 independent gentlemen decide that he *is* in error, while only 29 can hesitate? Yet Mr. Hume denies himself the “great satisfaction” of being thus convinced; and undertakes, in 1851, to show the same House of Commons that *theirs* are the “erroneous views.” Again, with what result? *Two hundred and thirty* members now repudiate the vocation of “blasting characters,” while only *nineteen* are not ashamed. Yet even now we are told that the question only sleeps: indeed it *scarcely* sleeps. Mr. Hume has very lately reiterated his worst imputations,—not unwilling, apparently, to continue the dupe of others more obscure, whose malignant misinformation has deceived their betters into an expenditure of their own and the public time, which was worthy of a better cause.

I was absent from England when those debates in Parliament took place. Assailing more particularly the

character of Sir James Brooke, the charges advanced implicate also Admirals Cochrane and Collier, Captains Farquhar and Wallage, and myself; for I served, when last afloat, in those latitudes where arose the cause of all discussion—the destruction of the “alleged” pirate fleet: indeed, I was very near having Captain Farquhar’s part to act; I should have acted precisely as he did—not without pain—nor did he:—but, without hesitation or remorse. In amusing myself therefore, and in aspiring to amuse the public, with a retrospect of voyages in those seas, I consider it a duty, and it is an acceptable one, to re-asseverate and to prove those facts which are still disputed by ignorance, or by obstinacy, or by something worse.

I am far from denying that in some points in connection with these subjects there *may* be a conscientious difference of opinion, especially when information looks authentic, and when informants are plausible. I would not impugn, therefore, the sincerity of those nineteen legislators, whose sympathies are still with the Bornean pirate at the expense of the English gentleman. I may remind them, however, without offence, that there is a connection between the understanding and the will, which makes it our own fault oftener than we suspect it to be,—when “seeing we see, and do not perceive.” But, again and again, in Parliament, in Exeter Hall, or on any other arena, we are content to stand or fall by the voice of the public and by facts. In the latter place, more generally

resounding with the words of charity, some things have been said on the subject of Borneo which, from their incorrectness and their bitterness, are unworthy of a place where so many matters are well discussed touching the highest interests of mankind. But *then* it is—it can only be—by people who *know what they are talking about*; whereas, on *this* subject, there is often an ignorance even of common geography, which leads them into many absurdities,—not to mention other and various points of information, without which not the most able orator is entitled to stand up and work upon the impulses of an unreflecting and confiding audience.

There *is*, doubtless, in the councils of Providence, a time ordained when wars shall cease in all the world; but many signs, not yet visible in the distance, must herald that dawning of universal peace: and no peremptory “resolution” of a Peace Society—no Essays on the unjustifiableness of armaments, can precipitate “the times and the seasons which THE FATHER hath put in *his own* power.” Such a trip to the Eastern Archipelago as was suggested by a certain Captain Aaron Smith, amid “great consternation on the platform,” would make plain to any of these respectable theorists what unattainable wishes arise out of their closet thoughts: how unfair towards fellow-Christians as sincere as themselves, but only more practical, are some speeches uttered by well-meaning enthusiasts,—who, ignorant of the vast world and of its actual doings, have worked themselves up vainly

to expect, and eloquently, but not wisely, to descant upon a premature realisation of millennial hopes.

I have before me a private letter from my friend, Sir James Brooke, of which one passage would alone stir me to the task I have undertaken. I will commence by quoting it, that an honest man may say a few words for himself :—

“ We have taught them (the pirates) a lesson in a month, which will serve to keep them in check for some years, if not altogether, and which has thus saved the innocent and peaceful inhabitants of the coast from a system of depredation, the horrors and the consequences of which can only be fully appreciated by those on the spot.

“ For this good service I have been greatly abused and maligned by a party at home. I was surprised when first this attack was made on my reputation as a public man, and my character as a private one ; but I was neither confounded nor alarmed : on the contrary, I was inclined to be savage and fierce, and, in my rage, to rend friends as well as foes. As these gross attacks became more gross, more vindictive, and more frequent, I became cool and collected, and readily saw that my enemies were unwise and over-abusive. I collected the evidence necessary, which was full and conclusive, to rebut these malicious accusations ; and, at the present time, with such defenders as the cause of truth has found, I have no feeling on the subject, excepting a

charitable contempt for those who have deemed it right to become my enemies and persecutors. I owe much to my friends ; and any pain I have suffered from these attacks has been a thousand-fold overbalanced by the kindness of those who have stepped forward to advocate my cause, and the cause of truth and humanity. These friends are dear to me, and my sense of obligation is equal to their kindness. I owe them a debt of gratitude ; but I owe it with pride, and with the feeling that I would repay it at any time that they needed a similar service, or any service that equal friendship (and there is no other) can render.

“ By the last mail I received the approval of Government ; and I suppose that, when the battle has been fought on the floor of the House of Commons, this calumny will pass away ; that it will be forgotten by the mass ; regretted by the conscientious, who have joined in it from good motives ; and fed only by the few who have been actuated by malice, by spite, by jealousy, disappointment, or some other vile passion.”

I have read attentively, since my return to England, the debates in the House of Commons of July, 1850, and July, 1851, on the subject which is conspicuously entitled “ The charges against Sir James Brooke.” Mr. Hume having been the mover for “ inquiry ” on both these occasions, I purpose to found my observations principally on his speeches ; this will admit a fair and full

examination of the points at issue, inasmuch as what Mr. Hume has said in Parliament includes all that ignorance or ill-nature has said anywhere.

I find two positions advanced by him ; and I deny them both.

His first position is, That the Malays and Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran are not pirates.

His second, That, supposing they are pirates, an unjustifiable loss of life was inflicted on them by the naval force which attacked their fleet on the 31st July, 1849.

Some tasks are paradoxically difficult from their easiness. It is provoking to be put to great efforts for trifling ends. That which has long been with Mr. Hume a self-imposed amusement, is at our penitentiaries a mortifying punishment ; I mean the task of turning a crank and grinding *nothing*. But the hardened *habitué* cannot appreciate the disgust of those who are not amateurs. I have explained why *I* come to the crank at Mr. Hume's call. Before the appearance of a work, of which the shell only is mine, the kernel my friend's, his unobtrusive merits had their recompense—sufficient for him—in the affections of a people scarcely known by name to other Englishmen. The simple history disclosed in his journals placed him at once among the benefactors of his race ; and therefore I cannot again even name the Eastern Archipelago, without again bearing witness that the man who has chiefly given it interest for *us* reflects on his country as much honour as she can confer on him. I

have another reason for entering on this subject. The omission to do so would disappoint Mr. Hume himself. In a published letter written within the last year, he expresses his surprise that Sir James Brooke “should sit down quietly under the heavy imputations under which he labours.” But may they not sit so *lightly* on him, in consideration of their authors, as to make it no labour to sit under them ?

His friends, however, need not be such philosophers ; and Mr. Hume would probably be the first to express a charitable surprise, if a known friend of Sir James Brooke were to pass over the piracy question in a publication on the Indian seas. It is a manner of proceeding unknown to any English court of law, equity, or honour, to charge a man as an impostor, a public delinquent, a murderer, and then to say, “ Prove you are not so ; ” nor could Parliament help Mr. Hume to fix on my friend these hard names more than he can help himself. Indeed, he possesses already all that truth could ever furnish him with from the East,—*and a little more*. Still, I am now at his service for a chapter or two. Those readers who have had enough of pirates may pass on to Chapter XVI., while the Honourable Member for Montrose may accompany me to the Serebas River,—where I advise him not to go alone.

As an admitted definition is rather useful, let us define a pirate :—

“ A sea-robber.”—*Johnson*.

“A salt-water thief.”—*Shakspeare*.

And I believe that, according to law, *he* is a pirate, “who commits at sea those acts of robbery and depredation which, if committed on land, would amount to felony.”

And, according to international law, those persons form a piratical *community* who consent together thus to violate the universal law of society, in the spirit of universal hostility.*

To leave nothing unanswered which Mr. Hume has valued as an argument, I will first take *his* principal points of “evidence” in order, and then briefly add whatever else may seem to bear upon those “*strong* views,” which I desire, but scarcely hope, to give him the “great satisfaction” of admitting to be “erroneous” views.

The materials on which Mr. Hume relies to establish his arguments are as follows :—

1. The journals of Sir James Brooke, as quoted by Captain Mundy.

2. The works of Mr. H. W. Earl, author of “The Eastern Seas.”

3. Two letters from nameless officers, and two from Captains Young and Daniell, of the East India Company’s Naval Service.†

4. Letter from “a Gentleman.” Mr. W. H. Miles.

5. Address from “Merchants” of Sincapore.

6. Letter from Captain The Hon. George Hastings, R.N.

* Kent.

† Produced as four distinct authorities.

That Mr. Hume considers this an effective array, is seen by his running comments—such as this :—“ Though *such* testimony is borne in their favour, death and destruction has been dealt out against these unoffending people ” (the alleged pirates), and by the tone of several letters which have appeared since the last debate.

Reviewing his phalanx in the above order, we shall see what each is worth.

1. It is well known, that Sir James Brooke lent Captain Mundy his manuscript journals, as he had previously lent them to myself. Captain Mundy published portions of them ; and in *his* publication occurs a passage which represents the *Serebas* as being “ by no means warlike ; ” and as having “ a great dread of firearms.” These last words especially have been invaluable to Mr. Hume.

The original journals were written in 1838. We know how readily savages—the Caffres for example—adopt civilized modes of killing each other : so that such a statement as the above might be literally true when first made, and yet inapplicable in the course of a few years. This is in a great measure the case ; but this is not *the* right explanation of that discrepancy. Captain Mundy by a simple error of transcription makes an observation apply to the *Serebas* people, which applied in the original manuscript to an entirely different people—the *Land Dyaks* : “ *these*,” says the author, “ are darker than the *Serebas* ; *they* are by no means warlike,” &c. Let the genuine sentence be seen parallel with Captain

Mundy's inadvertent variation, and there is an end of an *argument*, to which Mr. Hume even yet clings with the tenacity characteristic of a weak cause and of himself.

Sir James Brooke's manuscript runs thus :—

“ The Land Dyaks are inferior to those of the coast, *they* are darker than the Serebas. *They* are by no means so warlike as the others ; and, from their great dread of firearms, may be kept in subjection by comparatively a small body of Malays.”

Captain Mundy's paragraph thus :—

“ *The Serebas* are by no means so warlike as the others ; and, from their great dread of firearms, may be kept in subjection by comparatively a small body of Malays.” Vol. I., p. 237.

Within two pages of this passage, is one which might have corrected this mistake ; for at p. 235 we read : “ They (the Sakarrans) are the most savage of the tribes, the Serebas excepted, and delight in head-hunting and pillage.”

As to this ridiculous question of firearms, I have explained, in a former chapter, that these piratical communities comprise both Malays and Dyaks ; that the Malays of *Serebas* were always particularly well-armed ; and that among the Dyaks, although many had not firearms when Mr. Brooke first wrote of them, yet some *had* : and it is absurd to suppose that a writer could mean to describe a people as being afraid to use, or even *to hear the sound* of a weapon, which he knew them to be familiar with. In his “ letter from Borneo,” so far back as 1841,

Mr. Brooke stated, in a passage which I shall presently give at length, that the *unwarlike* Malays “*employ the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks, aided by a small party with firearms, to attack other tribes.*” This alone would be conclusive against any argument resting on an isolated and mis-quoted passage: but when Mr. Hume builds in 1851 upon foundations of 1838, he must think that the Dyak has been as unprogressive as himself. Not only did they use firearms against the boats of the *Dido* in 1842, but, ever since that time, guns and gunpowder have been the articles which they most eagerly purchase or plunder. Nor is this incompatible with a kind of cowardice,—not however extending, that I know of, to a fear of *sound*. Many a speech of Mr. Hume’s has dispersed the House of Commons more effectually than a musket report ever frightened the Dyaks. By means of the free market of Sincapore, the Malays have long known, if not the name, the productions of *Birmingham*: and it is not likely that such powerful tribes as the Serebas and Sakarrans would neglect the musket, after it had been adopted by all their neighbours, and practically introduced to their own notice by our boats’ crews. In a Lanun pirate prahu, taken by the Dutch last year, there were sixty-four muskets neatly arranged on racks, and the cabin had three port-holes, each bristling with a lela.

I have already stated that the war-prahus of the Serebas Malays are as well appointed as the *Lanuns*; and

I shall presently shew that these communities are intimate with each other, and often act together.

Still, pirates *are* often cowards. Theirs is a sneaking, *cowardly* occupation, and operates as such on those who follow it. So says Captain Kloff, of the Dutch navy, an officer of much experience :—"In general these wretches exhibit little courage." He also says: "They are *all supplied with powder and shot*. They fear extremely the *armed ships of the Government*."

The fleet of 31st July, 1849, had muskets in every boat; and if we calculate them at the low average of eight to each boat, this would distribute 1200 muskets among people "*who run away from the very sound*." It is *admitted* that in the same fleet there were *four* *lelas*. This is not many; but it will be remembered that, according to the object, or to the anticipated emergencies of any particular expedition, the pirates go out in the Malay *prahu*, or in the Dyak *bangkong*. The latter is the *lighter* vessel; and of such the fleet destroyed was principally composed. *They* do not so commonly mount guns, as they are chiefly used when some necessity for rapid dispersion is anticipated. They are then easily run over shoals, or up narrow creeks; or hauled up into the jungle, where the rattans, which hold the planks together, are cut asunder, and the pieces of the boat concealed. Thus, a *bangkong* carrying fifty or sixty men, pursued to the jungle, will wholly disappear before the pursuers

reach her. The crew will have walked off, each with his paddle, or some other portion of the boat's gear. Again, if these boats are caught in a sudden gale or squall at sea, out jump the crew; and holding to the gunwale with one hand, supporting themselves with a paddle in the other, they will remain thus for hours, until the wind and sea have subsided.

In the expedition of the *Dido*, guns (principally long brass swivels, or *lepas*) were taken at Patusan from these pirates, which realised by public auction at Singapore £900. Although taken in a fort, they were mounted on ship-blocks or carriages, and had only recently been landed. I bought five of them, which I can show Mr. Hume whenever he pleases. The Malay chiefs highly prize these guns, which are of native workmanship, and very handsome. Each has a name, and a history attached to it, which they are never tired of telling. It was said that the most eager bidders at the above sale were Malays, agents for their old owners, the Serebas chiefs. I had them all stamped with a private mark, by which they might be recognised, should we meet again.

This kind of gun is equivalent to money, and is dealt with as money by the Malays.

These explanations are not new to Mr. Hume. The very same work, which by one accidental omission put, as he thought, a sword into his hand, offered him fifty explanations, in which it ought to have been sheathed. He

brandishes it still,—but only to wound himself; let me help him, by republishing one of his latest cuts.

“ Sir James Brooke caused many hundred **WEAK SAVAGES** to be slaughtered under the allegation that they were pirates, who, according to his own published statements, are wholly *incapable either of offence or defence*, whether against Europeans, or the more civilised inhabitants of the same countries ! ”

2. I pass to Mr. Hume's second witness, Mr. H. W. Earl, author of an interesting work, “ The Eastern Seas.”

In him Mr. Hume parades an excellent authority as on his side, who is a decisive witness against him on the point at issue.

The Honourable Member cites Mr. Earl as “ declaring that the Serebas do not deserve the character given to them.”*

In that gentleman's work I have failed to find any mention whatever of the Serebas by name. Truth, however, is my object; and therefore I will first extract the few passages, which on cursory perusal might appear favourable to these people; and then a page or two, which will place beyond dispute what is the testimony of Mr. Earl.

He has four chapters on Borneo, comprising particular notices of Sarāwak and the north-western tribes. The following passages occur :—

Page 254. “ The Dyaks, or aboriginal inhabitants of Borneo, constitute by far the most interesting portion of its population.”

* Hansard.

Page 260. "The Dyaks are a much superior people to the Malays."

Page 262. "Their domestic relations towards each other,—that is to say, *towards members of their own family and tribe*,—are of a mild nature, according with their general dispositions."

And, after a particular account of the Dyak propensity for head-hunting, which Mr. Earl is inclined to ascribe to a religious superstition, he continues :—

Pages 271—273. "The horrid massacres perpetrated by the wilder Dyaks would seem to sanction an opinion that all attempts to improve them would be hopeless : but I feel confident that no people on earth, with the exception perhaps of their counterparts, the natives of South America, are so susceptible of civilisation. * * * Freedom of commerce, which has hitherto been found the best instrument of civilisation, would rapidly improve the condition of these people : and were an European settlement, with a free port, established on one of the numerous large rivers, the Dyaks would soon be brought into communication with it, for they are greatly addicted to commerce, and spare no pains to procure articles of foreign manufacture, for which they have acquired a taste."

Lastly, at page 210, in allusion to the then recent discovery of antimony-ore at Sarāwak, he says of *that* place, that "the rapidity with which it has risen to importance proves how very little encouragement the

natives require, to induce them to turn the valuable productions of the island to account."

Now, what does all this amount to? It bears in no way upon the character of the *tribes charged with piracy*, but on a part of the question which we are not yet discussing,—the suppression of the evil, and most particularly where the good is ready to spring up. In the neighbourhood of Sarāwak, or in any other neighbourhood where commerce waits but for security, *give* it security; extinguish that pest, of which the signs are everywhere the same,—an *absence* of commercial life; an unbusy and desolate aspect upon every shore and river-side within its influence. Whenever Dyak or Malay shall manifest an inclination for commerce, and a taste for foreign manufactures, surely it is our duty and interest to foster it, and so to stand between them and their murderous and pillaging neighbours, that their commercial demands may not necessarily be confined to gunpowder from Dartford, and muskets from Birmingham.

But let us see what Mr. Earl's work contains clearly applicable to the *very* Dyaks of SEREBAS and SAKARRAN.

Mr. Hume "has given great attention to the subject;" and yet his greatest errors must in charity be ascribed to misconceptions, which even a *little* unprejudiced attention would have prevented. His *constancy* to erroneous impressions once conceived must be referred to other phrenological peculiarities. Every writer whom he can have consulted—certainly all those whom he or his

friends have quoted,—Mr. Earl, *Mr.* Brooke, (an accepted authority, before he became “wedded to honours which he never wooed,”) Mr. Crawford—any one of these might have corrected his *fundamentally* erroneous idea that all Dyaks are alike. Nor is this confined to Mr. Hume. Mr. Cobden also, after divulging to the House on the authority of Crawford that “the Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran are not *Malays*,” considers that he has proved they are not pirates! He can argue more conclusively when he understands his subject. It may be desirable, however, here to record a clear and simple explanation of this point.

Dyaks differ *from each other* considerably, this difference being attributable chiefly to *position*,—according as they are “Hill Dyaks,” or “Coast Dyaks.” The former, though not free from the evil propensities incident to an uncivilised state, may be admitted to deserve what Mr. Earl says of them. The latter—living either close to the sea, or up the great rivers whence they go down to the sea—have, by evil communication with the Malays who dwell at the entrances of their rivers, “corrupted their own good manners;” have become mixed up with the Malays, and have adopted with them the nefarious pursuits of piracy and slave-trade, engrafted on their own practices of foraging for heads. Referring to this distinction, Mr. Earl mentions “milder” and “wilder” Dyaks. “The milder,” he says, “in the Chinese territory,”—somewhat humanised, I conclude, by the influence of

commercial industry,—“have totally abandoned their barbarous customs.” The same may certainly be said now of the Dyaks of Sarāwak. But the “wilder” Dyaks, while from superstition and congenital propensity they are murderers, are also *made* pirates and slave-dealers by that accident of locality which brings them under the influence and instruction of the Malays to whom *these* pursuits are natural. I have briefly stated this in a former chapter ; but it will bear enforcing here, because it is *the* answer to every asseveration that “the Dyaks” are not pirates. If they are “Sea Dyaks” (including those of the large rivers), “Coast Dyaks,” “Wild Dyaks,” they are almost invariably PIRATES. If they are “Land Dyaks,” “Hill Dyaks,” “Mild Dyaks”—they *may* be “harmless, inoffensive people,” as respects *piracy* ; though, except in the regenerated province of Sarāwak, they will still collect human heads.

To no Dyak tribes in Borneo do these statements more truly apply than to those of the Serebas and Sakarran rivers. One other circumstance borne in mind would prevent much “beating of the air” on this subject. The tribes of these two rivers so habitually unite their forces for piratical expeditions, and become when thus united so mixed together, that both the rivers and both their respective races are often comprehended under either names,—I mean in conversation or familiar writing. In strictest accuracy we must speak of them as “the Malays and Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran ;” but to avoid

tediousness, when this has been once premised, we include all under either designation, unless the contrary is evident. This unity of habits, pursuits, and movements has existed from time immemorial between these communities. For example—I open at a venture my “Expedition to Borneo,” and read as follows:—“These Dyaks” (the perpetrators of some atrocities alluded to) “were chiefly from Sakarran, mixed with the Serebas.” So it is in many places ; and hence it follows that where, as for example in M. de Groot’s report, the Serebas pirates are convicted by name, it is no acquittal of the Sakarrans—and *vice versâ*. They are strictly partners in piracy.

And now to examine Mr. Earl’s positive evidence against these very people, I begin with a letter, which he has addressed to Sir James Brooke since the destruction of their fleet.

“As one of the oldest, indeed I believe the oldest surviving British visitor to the western coasts of Borneo, I feel myself called upon to offer my testimony as to the state of those coasts sixteen years ago. I have a lively recollection, even at this distant date, of the terror in which the coast was kept by *the very tribes* which you have been instrumental in checking.”

Thus Mr. Earl was a precursor of Sir James Brooke in the Eastern Seas : his publication, also, preceded anything of the kind by Mr. Brooke ; and if so, what becomes of Mr. Hume’s assertion that “Sir James Brooke was the first person who denounced the Dyaks as pirates ?”

And now, how does Mr. Earl denounce them ?

In "The Eastern Seas," at page 269, occurs the following passage:—"A year or two before my arrival on the coast, the entire population of the town of Slaku was cut off, during a night attack, by a powerful tribe of WILD DYAKS from the north-west coast, who came down in search of human heads. They swept the whole coast, from their native place, SAKARRAN,* to Sambas. None of the inhabitants of Slaku survived to tell the tale.

* * * The people of Borneo Proper," he adds, "care not whose heads they obtain, if their own are untouched," &c.

Mr. Hume, professing to know and believe this work, has yet "failed to obtain *one single iota* of proof that the Serebas and other tribes are in the habit of foraging for heads." Yet he has excusably declined an invitation to Sarāwak, saying "he should expect—he would not say what."

Still—is head-taking *piracy*? Admit that it is a silly pastime,—admit, even, that a man's head-piece is his private property : still, a fleet of prahus bringing home only the *skulls* of every individual in the town of Slaku might not be adjudged in Courts of Admiralty to have plundered *such* "piece-goods" as would bring them within legal definition as pirates.

We can afford to admit all this, if Mr. Hume will,

* In the letter above mentioned, from Mr. Earl to Sir James Brooke, he rectifies an *erratum* in his book, by which Sakarran is called Schassan ; I therefore adopt the correction.

for a moment longer, keep his own witness “in the box.”

His friends, the Dyaks, while only beheading towns, shall, as suggested by Lord Palmerston, be engaged in an “amiable pursuit—merely intertribal war,” if we may just ask Mr. Earl another question,—Whether they do not occasionally *vary* their amusement, and combine the business of plunder with the pleasures of assassination?

Mr. Earl replies—“They do.”

“The north-west coast, from Point Datu to Borneo Proper, an extent of nearly three hundred miles, is scarcely known to the native trader, although it is held to be as rich in natural productions as any other part of the island. The country is occupied by several powerful Dyak tribes, differing only in dialect, who here, as elsewhere, are engaged in perpetual warfare. The *most adventurous* of the tribes is that of SAKARRAN, a spot about a hundred miles to the eastward of Sarāwak, the people of which are said by the Malays to be of a more lofty stature than the others—a statement which I suspect means only that the tribe is more powerful. They sometimes make long voyages down the coast, and their murderous visit to Sambas has already been mentioned. The Dyaks, however, are not the sole occupants of this part of the coast, for the LANUNS, a piratical people from the island of Magindano, are established in several of the harbours, where they live chiefly in their prahus, which are from twenty to sixty tons burthen. During the south-east

monsoon, a proportion of these vessels cruise in the more civilised parts of the Archipelago, chiefly near the entrances of the straits leading to Sincapore, where they attack and plunder the prahus of the native traders ; and, when about to return to their haunts in Borneo, generally manage to surprise some small town or village, the entire population of which is often carried away into slavery. During the absence of the fleets, the women and children remain on the coast of Borneo with the rest of the prahus, to take charge of the booty already collected ; and, as the females are nearly as warlike as the men, and *understand the use of firearms*, they are considered sufficiently powerful to beat off the Dyaks, from whom alone they are liable to molestation.

“ *The DYAKS and the LANUNS, indeed, occasionally join forces ; in which case the human heads and the iron procured in the cruise down the coast are claimed by the former, the remainder of the plunder being resigned to the Lanuns. When a sufficient quantity of plunder and slaves have been collected by the Lanuns, they return to their own country, and their place is supplied by others, who settle for a time on the coast in order to enrich themselves by the same means.*”

Here they are then, — these Sakarran innocents, — denounced (and *not* first by Sir James Brooke) as confederates, harbourers, or hirelings, as may suit them, of the greatest scourge of the Archipelago, the Lanuns, whom even Mr. Cobden invites the Rajah to chastise ; and

thus it is, that the more we learn of them from competent authorities, the worse we find them ; and the fact here elicited that, besides atrocities on their own account, they are at the service of any chance pirates-of-passage, who may require auxiliary cut-throats and pillagers, is confirmed by Mr. Brooke's earliest publication, a work which is as much to his honour as anything he has ever written,—his disinterested and Christian “Letter from Borneo,” 1841.

“The *unwarlike* Malays,” he writes, “when they would without risk plunder a weak Dyak tribe, seizing also for slavery the women and children, generally employ the SEREBAS and SAKARRAN DYAKS, aided by a small party *with firearms*, to make the attack. The terms of the agreement are that the Malays get two-thirds of the property and slaves, while the Dyaks get the other third and all the heads. Of twenty Dyak tribes under this Government more than half have been robbed of their wives and children in part ; and one tribe is without women and children amongst them, upwards of two hundred having been led away into slavery at Sakarran and Sadong.”

Again,

“Several of the Bornean Pangerans about six months since ‘invited’ a large party of SAKARRAN DYAKS to the *plunder* of the tribes up the river. A hundred war prahus of the Sakarrans, carrying 3000 men, arrived at Kuchin and requested permission to make the attack.”

Mr. Brooke's opportune arrival at Kuchin, and his energetic demonstration against this sort of entertainment, sent the invited empty away. But "since that time," proceeds the journal, "another native chief has sent the SAKARRAN DYAKS to attack a tribe called Sunpro. After a night surprise, they captured forty women and children, killing about the same number of men, and burning their village."

"Heads collected—slaves procured—vessels plundered on moderate terms." Such then is the calling of the tribes in question. No book, no living witness of credit, can be consulted without verifying the long unchallenged testimony of Mr. Brooke himself, penned before any circumstance had arisen which malignity could distort into a motive for false-colouring. Twelve years ago *he* echoed a truth which was before notorious, but which had never been certified so unsuspiciously, nor with such disinterested views—that "PIRACY and the SLAVE-TRADE were openly carried on within a short distance of three European settlements on a scale and system revolting to humanity ; that, within a few days' sail of Singapore, horrors had been for years enacted, which might be suppressed in a few months by vigorous measures ; fleets of LANUNS each year waiting for the prahus bound for our great Eastern emporium, capturing them, and often inflicting on their crews miseries equal to those of the middle passage ; and fleets of the Dyaks of SEREBAS and SAKARRAN, sweeping the shores *even to* CELEBES,

murdering the men of all nations, and capturing women and children ; rendering the communication along the coast dangerous, and preventing the cultivation of the soil near the sea-shore.”

What matters it who “first denounced” such people ? Let Mr. Hume assign the disgrace to Sir James Brooke ; let his “merchants” bestow a share of it on *me*. “Things that are not let them make to be, and things that are let them make not to be,” as a Malay would say. Confessedly, however, the most earnest, though not the first, appeal to England *was* made by the first English Rajah of Sarāwak. He was qualified above others to certify how largely these tribes have contributed to a scourge, which foreign nations had long before stigmatised as “THE CALAMITY OF THE ARCHIPELAGO !” Twelve years have passed since *his* appeal came home—not a new thing, but from a new kind of man ; offering remedial suggestions, pure and disinterested, and ready, if it would secure their adoption, “either to give place to another or to remain himself:” and he was then Rajah of Sarāwak. The remedies he proposed were—not fire and sword, but “the extension of commerce, the propagation of Christianity, the amelioration of an innocent and industrious race.” *And* be it *repeated* that all his suggestions came recommended by an opinion—too sanguine perhaps for some, but coincided in by the most experienced—that the evil, which stood in the way of so much good, might be suppressed *in a few months* by

vigorous measures. If any now estimate Sir James Brooke's sagacity by the fact that piracy is unsuppressed, we must first agree as to what *are* "vigorous measures." But this would touch prematurely on a separate question.

We have now sifted Mr. Earl and Mr. Brooke, from whose works albeit the uncandid and the perverse may detach passages to give a colouring to *their* views, common sense will decide thus much,—that there are Dyaks wild as well as mild,—wild even beyond wild feats in craniology : exercising a destructive vigilance over the *commerce* of a vast expanse of ocean and extent of shore, which, through a want of counteracting vigilance, has become their empire and their home. Such is the evidence of Mr. Hume's two *unimpeachable* witnesses. With no very high opinion of the one as a Rajah, he insists on quoting him as a writer : therefore so may we. The other gentleman is *equally* an authority ; he is at this time an able contributor to colonial literature, and an ornament to the society of Singapore. How could the honourable member cite two such men, and not know that they would instruct where they were meant to bamboozle, and clear what they were called to mystify ?

But now, according to *his* Law-Dictionary, a "pirate" must use a particular kind of boat, and must attack a particular kind of ship—a square-rigged vessel.

It is scarcely a question for serious argument, whether the shape of a sail, or the size of a hull should determine the character of a "salt-water thief." It is as if a land-

lubber, to be a pickpocket, must rob a guardsman ; or to be a burglar, *must* try the doors of Burnley Hall. Surely he is equally worthy of Norfolk Island, if he exercise his crow-bar on the porter's lodge. But if this objection be serious, it is easily answered. It is easily shown that these pirate-tribes have been guilty of attacks on square-rigged vessels.

A return has been produced in Parliament from Lloyd's, showing that between thirty and forty square-rigged vessels have been "captured, plundered, or molested" within the last twelve years by Malay or DYAK pirates,—the crews in many cases having been murdered. Grant that *all* these outrages cannot be brought home to the Serebas and Sakarrans ; still when we do convict *them* hundreds of miles from their own rivers,—“sweeping the coast even to Celebes,”—we may fairly lay to their charge a proportion of these outrages of which the perpetrators, though not named, are traced from “BORNEO.” And, again, what is the fair inference from that despatch of the Consul at Manilla, cited by Lord Palmerston ? He says that during his five years of residence there “merchant-vessels, American or British, have been attacked, and their crews carried into slavery,—that square-rigged vessels have disappeared, and never been heard of, carried off, as it was presumed, by pirates : but that in consequence of recent operations of *British ships of war on the northern coast of Borneo*, as well as of the operations of the Dutch and Spaniards, trade is becoming more secure, and the

proceedings of *the* pirates had been considerably checked." Now *British* ships have acted against the SEREBAS and SAKARRAN hordes. If, therefore, since these operations fewer or no attacks have been made on merchant-vessels, the conclusion is that the former attacks were made by *them*.

But while we have only inferences to guide us in one direction, simply because there have been no cruizers in our own portion of these seas, we can find facts quite conclusive, where vigilance *has* been exercised, and records kept.

In De Groot's report, p. 107,* there are several distinct references to outrages committed by "flotillas of Dyak prahus" at Sambas, at Mampawa, and other places on the coast of Pontiana. They dared even to lie in wait for the man-of-war schooner *Haai*, and in one engagement killed thirty-seven of the Dutch, losing eighty of their own force. "These Dyaks," concludes the report, "came from SEREBAS, a locality north of Sambas, only accessible to the small light vessels of the Dyaks, of slender form. In their voyages they burn and massacre along the shores all that is within their reach. As trophies they carry off the skulls of the victims of their ferocity." So that here

* M. De Groot's compilation, entitled, "Paper relating to the Piracies committed in the Indian Archipelago," is a remarkable comment on Mr. Hume's observation that "there may be some pirates, but they are few." It fills sixty folio pages, and records, on an average, ten outrages per page, including every kind of attack on every kind of vessel, with all the incidents of massacre, burning, slavery, &c., and yet it is chiefly confined to such as have affected the Dutch commerce, and to the measures taken by the Netherland Government for the suppression of piracy.

we have specific acts of “daring” outrage on European vessels of war, brought home to the Dyaks of Serebas ; we have “their voyages,” mentioned, as one refers to common occurrences ; we have their atrocious habits *above* those of other pirates ; we have their boats described as exactly of that kind in which Mr. Hume protests they could *not* practise piracy.

And not only do we see that “square-rigged” vessels *have* been attacked by SEREBAS pirates, but it is probable there have been numerous instances ; for, besides the actual or presumptive proofs already adduced, there are, in De Groot’s report, abundant records of such outrages by pirates of BORNEO : and we may fairly reason that those pirates of Borneo, who have been the least watched or controlled, are likely to have been the most mischievous ; and no part of the island has been so incompletely or so irregularly protected as that north-west coast which, having depended on the guardianship of England, has been consigned considerably to the mercies of the Serebas.

But whatever *has* been the number of their outrages on European vessels, a word will explain why they have not been more. The trade of the Indian Archipelago is not carried on principally in square-rigged, but in native craft. I have now before me the return from Singapore for the year 1849, ending just previously to the destruction of the Serebas fleet : it shows a proportion of four native vessels to one European, engaged in the trade to that

port alone ; and it is not less in other directions. The native prahus accordingly offer fourfold opportunity, not to mention the diminished risk to pirates. There has, however, started into life, since Captain Farquhar's chastisement of these hordes, such an accession of trade to Singapore in native vessels from Sarāwak alone, as must have greatly increased this proportion,—a fact which might alone make clear to any unprejudiced person what has been the sinister influence hitherto crippling and depressing it.

I will here bestow one word on an argument of Mr. Hume, founded on the *lightness of the Dyak boats*:—

“From the class of boats used by them, it is impossible they can be pirates.”

It should be borne in mind that, during the prevalence of the southerly monsoon, the sea is always calm and smooth on the north side of Borneo (and *vice versâ*). This, therefore, is the season of activity both for the trader and his spoiler. As regularly as the one ventures out with his cargo, he finds the other waiting to disencumber him of cargo, liberty, and, if it suit him, life.

Nothing but forgetfulness or ignorance of the nature of the monsoons, and of their effect on the seas subject to their influence, could suggest a doubt as to the possibility of pirates using light and slightly-built boats at these particular seasons. I have stated before of the Serebas pirates that they go out either in the Malay war-prahu, which is as formidable as a Lanun's, or in the Dyak bang-

kong, according to the object of the expedition, or to their expectation of meeting an enemy : but “the *smaller* the vessel,” says *Captain Kloff*, “the quicker its progress ; for this reason in these expeditions, for which the pirates have collected together a great number of vessels, they leave the larger ones behind some island, reserving them for the purpose of covering a more important attack, while they proceed on their piratical projects with the smaller craft.”

Captain Kloff is a Dutch officer who was employed in the Eastern Seas, to collect for his Government “all the details that could be obtained respecting piracy.” The reader will decide which is the best authority on pirates’ boats.

I find myself following up this subject more particularly than I at first intended : but it cannot have lost its general interest ; for it involves no mere insignificant squabble, although much personality has been on one side resorted to.

I hold the question to be this,—whether individual spleen and rancour, having succeeded in mystifying a handful of public men—not all disposed nor all qualified, as their speeches show, to form an unprejudiced opinion for themselves—shall be permitted, through these parliamentary auxiliaries, to harass an eminent servant of his Sovereign ; one who, by a chain of singular events such as is witnessed only once in many generations, has acquired the power, and is blest also with the will, to

shed an enduring lustre on the country of his birth. But for this end, he must take home to the land of his adoption a feeling that he is confided in and co-operated with, as a man single in purpose, strong in desire, as in power, for good.

In that case even we, his cotemporaries, may live to see radiating from the scene of his remarkable career, as from a splendid centre, bright rays of freedom, of social and commercial intercourse, and, above all, of pure and practical Christianity, which shall eclipse the splendour of the warrior, by humanising the barbarism which *he* perpetuates.

The feelings which were uppermost with my friend Brooke on first visiting these shores have stolen, as it were, without any parade of his before the public eye—first, I am happy to say, through my own appreciation of them,—they are embodied in some lines which the reader will thank me for recalling to his memory, and to which he may give the best practical response by his support of the Bornean mission :—

“ Beautiful land ! upon so pure a plain
 Shall Superstition hold her hated reign ?
 Must Bigotry build up her cheerless shrine
 In such an air, on such an earth as thine ?
 Alas ! Religion from thy placid isles
 Veils the warm splendour of her heav’nly smiles,
 And the ’rapt gazer in the beauteous plan
 Sees nothing dark except the soul of man.” *

Can any hereafter sympathise with those who would

* Praed.

fain cripple his energies in a sublime, yet eminently practical sphere of usefulness, — with those who, of mere malice, would misrepresent pure motives, falsely characterise a well-directed enthusiasm, and throw back upon itself every patriotic purpose, mortified by suspicion, and frustrated through mistrust ?

I doubt whether, for a renewed persecution, all England will muster so many as the last Parliamentary nineteen ; but however this may be, my friend may comfort himself with the consideration that “ Vermin do ever devour the purest corn ; and moths eat into the finest cloth ; and the cantharides blast the sweetest flowers ; and the vulture draweth sickness from a perfume.”

We have as yet heard only two of Mr. Hume’s witnesses to the truth ; but they are of such a different stamp from those who are to follow that they shall have this chapter to themselves.

CHAPTER XII.

REPLY TO MR. HUME CONTINUED—HIS CAPTAINS—HIS “GENTLEMAN”—HIS
“MERCHANTS”—HIS PROMPTERS—HIMSELF.

IN commenting on the light which Mr. Earl and *Mr.* Brooke have thrown upon the character of the Serebas and Sakarrans, I have necessarily made many observations which will apply with equal force to Mr. Hume's further “evidence.” Still, his witnesses are worth hearing ; or rather, it is worth while to hear from themselves how little such a set were worth the labour of bringing together, to waste a night's debate for the Commons of England, to expose themselves to contempt, and those who brought them at least to ridicule. Two years of that industry for which Mr. Hume is remarkable were occupied in getting up his strength for this debate : frequent references were, I believe, made by or for him to Singapore and Borneo ; and when at last, on the 10th of July 1851, he opens his battery, we may with a natural curiosity scrutinise every gun, which it took years to bring into play, and minutes to silence.

“ At last ” exclaimed the honourable gentleman, “ an opportunity was afforded him,” &c. Let us see what reason he had to exult in the opportunity. Certainly we have now the issue to judge from. We have seen his

“ *Telum imbelle, sine ictu,*”

His strengthless weapon fall without a stroke ;

but let us see what he owes to those who furnished it ; who sent him with armour that he had not proved, to face on the Parliamentary battle-field the giant TRUTH.

With regard to the witnesses whom we have cross-examined, Mr. Earl and Mr. Brooke, it is most desirable for Mr. Hume’s credit to think that he had never read the works from which he quotes so partially, that he had trusted for a supply of fair arguments to those who had first set him up as their senatorial THERSITES, and then deceived him. It will be observed that I distinguish between *Sir James* and *Mr.* Brooke ; allowing “ honorable gentlemen ” to reject him as unworthy of credit, ever since his Sovereign marked him as a *good* subject, and selected him as a trustworthy representative. As *Mr.* Brooke, he is only the private traveller, journalising his progress as the custom is ;—and, as such, *credited and quoted by Mr. Hume himself*, honours not then having made him dishonourable, general admiration not having made him an impostor, the confidence of the great and the good not having worked him up to his present unworthiness in the eyes of—I am ashamed, I hesitate to

say—of Mr. Hume. It would be much pleasanter to think,—I try to think,—that my Lord Palmerston was right in his opinion, that “the honorable gentleman had sufficient natural candour not to feel so confident as hitherto as to the soundness of his conclusions.” But why not *then* throw it up with a good grace? surveying his dependances, he might candidly have exclaimed,

“Oh Jove! I think foundations fly the wretched;”

and might have beat that honourable retreat, which is only inferior to a victory. Why, above all, reiterate to the present moment the worst things he has ever said, repudiating the friendly extenuations of those who would fain think better things of him, and compelling the once attacked to go still armed, as being still before an enemy?

I proceed then to examine in all good humour a set of letters and documents too ridiculous for anger, and almost for argument. They were, however, as the world knows, gravely brought out, read, commented on, not only by Mr. Hume, but by those who followed on his side; and they were by them considered to have proved beyond controversy a point, which I wish I could lay down in some new shape,—that Sir James Brooke had massacred 1500 or 2000 innocents—the Serebas and Sakarrans *not being pirates*.

There is one special reason for giving these witnesses a candid hearing, viz., that *their* “evidence” comes up to the latest date before the destruction of the fleet: the

“alleged” pirates might have reformed within eight or ten years. True, Sir James Brooke still maintains that they were, in 1849, quite as villanous as before. So say I : so says Captain Farquhar : so say a cloud of witnesses—whom, however, Mr. Hume’s captains are to put to flight.

Mr. Cobden shall introduce them, in the terms he used, after hearing Mr. Hume’s opening speech :—“ My honourable friend has brought forward in evidence *five letters written by naval commanders* stationed upon the very coast ; and he pledged himself to bring *them* forward to give evidence, if this inquiry should be granted.”

Five naval commanders, *each* the writer of a letter “ from the very coast ” of Borneo.

“ There is, first,” continues Mr. Cobden, “ Captain Daniell, of the Indian Navy : then there is Captain Young, of the Indian Navy : then there are *two other* letters from captains in the Navy. One of *them* had been sixteen months stationed on the coast of Borneo : the *other* had been stationed at Labuan.”

I conclude that the fifth Captain referred to is my friend, Captain Hastings, whose letter to Mr. Hume shall have its turn. This leaves us four to dispose of now. Mr. Hume’s account of these four letters is substantially the same as Mr. Cobden’s : there can be no mistake about what he meant the House of Commons to believe.

The answer that awaits these vaunted letters is unpleasant. They were *not* written by *four* officers, but

by *two* ; and Mr. Hume knew this at the time ! Whether Mr. Cobden knew it also we need not decide. He must choose between assisting to mislead, or being himself misled, by a statement of which he made strong use in debate, but which was wholly inconsistent with the naked truth. The *truth* is this : that each of these two “ captains of the Indian Navy,” by a coincidence which points to some *one* suggestive agency, addressed to Mr. Hume, or for his use, *two* letters ; one authenticated, but carefully telling him nothing ; the other unauthenticated, and, therefore, after the manner of anonymous writers, much more venturesome. I may observe at once that Mr. Hume has lately confessed this to have been so in the case of Captain Young :—that the officer who “ does not feel justified in giving an opinion,” and the “ officer ” who gives a very free opinion, are *one and the same* ! Such a mode of multiplying witnesses is decidedly more ingenious than ingenuous. But I have not seen the same admission as to the letters of Captain Daniell. I shall be happy to give Mr. Hume my reasons publicly for assigning in like manner *two* of the letters to *that* officer’s pen : and of the trick thus repeated one can but say that it is only half as ingenious the second time, and doubly disingenuous.

And now let us see what they contain.

What particular inquiries Mr. Hume addressed to Captain Young can only be surmised from his reply. He seems to have worked himself up into a fear that a piratical balla, *if* there *be* such a monster, would some

day make its appearance off the Norfolk coast, and send a detachment head-hunting to "Burnley Hall." So his question was not simply, "Are the Serebas pirates?" but, "Are they enemies of this great and happy land?"

Captain Daniell's reply is enough to re-assure England through its length and breadth:—"I *conclude* that the enemies of the Sarāwak tribe are not pirates, *nor* enemies of this great and happy land." And his authority for this conclusion must set the matter at rest. "A merchant" told him so; and told him, in proof thereof, that "small coasting-vessels under the English flag had been in the habit of trading to and from Bruni for the last twenty-five years, and that *they* had never been molested." He, Captain Daniell, also "learnt that the Dyaks in question were not noted and desperate pirates, but *merely* enemies of the Sarāwak tribe, from time immemorial." Lastly, though stationed sixteen months on the coast of Borneo, "he never saw nor heard of a pirate, which greatly disappointed him; as he was led to suppose the coast abounded with them."

These "conclusions" Mr. Hume's "officer" contributes anonymously; but, as Captain Daniell, late of the steam-frigate *Semiramis*, on the Bornean coast, he is short and simple: "he never fell in with a pirate, nor ever heard of the Dyaks in question having molested an English or foreign vessel."

Going back, however, to what he has said, "on the other side of his mouth," let me, in reply, ask Captain

Daniell, or his "merchant" friend, whether they deny that there are tigers at Sincapore? They eat up Chinamen at the rate of one per diem: yet, inasmuch as none come home to *say* they are eaten up, and inasmuch as many still go to and fro uneaten, is it *therefore* that there are no tigers in the jungles of Sincapore? Trading prahus *have* passed unmolested, just as Chinamen have walked uneaten: but the point is (as proved by the immediate result of the action of 1849) that ten times so many would have passed, had there been no pirates: and who can tell how many have *disappeared* under a system which applies fire and sword to obliterate all traces of its atrocities? The intercepted prahu merely never reaches Borneo, or never arrives at Sincapore; and there is an end of it. But if Captain Daniell's "merchant" meant to tell him that, for twenty-five years, he—being in the way of hearing—had not heard of any small coasting-vessel being molested by pirates, I must now merely refer him to the preceding chapter, wishing his memory and his conscience much good therefrom. But again, if there be some quibble in reserve about "the English flag," he will learn, as he reads on, that, in the judgment of some as learned in definitions as himself, the "flag" attacked makes no more difference than the "rig."

It has been strongly asserted in Parliament, probably on this authority,—an anonymous officer quoting an anonymous merchant,—that these desperate hordes of enemies to the world at large are "merely immemorial enemies of the Sarāwak tribe." Nothing can be more

false. There are, besides the Sarāwak, about *forty* communities on the coast of Borneo, *all* living at peace with each other, *all* continually invaded, plundered, massacred by the Serebas and Sakarrans. They are at like enmity with the Netherland Government, which has often appealed to us to carry out our treaties, by which we are *bound*, though it clash with Captain Daniell's "conclusion," to treat as "enemies of this great and happy land" a people, who *profess* to "make no difference, when at sea, but to rob and murder all alike."

Finally, I can introduce Mr. Hume to a gentleman who has often heard Captain Daniell express a hope that he might be sent against these very pirates !

In Captain Young's communications, as in Captain Daniell's, a wonderful difference between the responsible and the irresponsible is seen. We have first a modest little billet to the effect that, "as a Government servant, he does not feel himself justified in giving an opinion on the affair in question." This note has the ornament of his name : but as he gets behind his screen he becomes more oracular, and recounts that, "having been stationed at Labuan for the protection of that island," (against *whom?*) "and having made three trips" (whither?) "in his steam-frigate, and one flying visit to Sarāwak without seeing pirates, he *opines* that the Malays in that neighbourhood are not given to piracy, *as understood by Englishmen*,"—he adds that "no person seeing their prahus could have any great *dread* of them as *sea-pirates* ; that small vessels run between Sincapore and Borneo,

without dreading them,"—and finally that he, the said Captain, made one such voyage, and now lives to tell it. He adds, however, "to be sure *this was in the bad season* when *their* prahus do not venture out."

Surely here is something of an admission that they are *reputed* pirates, who *have* a "season" for showing themselves. But to be seen by armed frigates is not their way of doing business. "They fear extremely," says Captain Kloff, "the armed ships of the Government :—" and another European, one Alexander Bross, who had been compelled as a captive to serve in a pirate fleet, describes their general habit :—" We had orders to go and cruise to await merchant-vessels. We had been four days in ambush, when we perceived the *Siewa*, man-of-war, of the Colonial Navy. We concealed ourselves immediately behind some islands. But *when the danger was passed*, we resumed our station, and captured a prahu laden with rice." Thus it is that they go sneaking about in "bawbling vessels,"

" For shallow draft, and bulk, unprizable,"

and surely Captain Young could not have expected to see such gentry unless he had been employed to look for them. Occasionally, indeed, some CONRAD or LARA of the Archipelago gives a gallant captain an opportunity to enact the Duke ORSINO :—

" Notable pirate ! thou salt-water thief !
What foolish boldness brought thee to *their* mercies,
Whom thou, in terms so bloody and so dear,
Hast made thine enemies ?"

Such a mischance befell the pirate fleet—190 sail—in which the before-mentioned Alexander Bross was serving. "One day we perceived an European vessel, which we took for a merchant vessel, because it was painted of a brown-grey, while men-of-war are generally black; we therefore made all sail for our prey. We soon, however, perceived that it was a man-of-war that we had to do with. The two first discharges from the brig damaged several prahus, and killed a great many pirates; a second broadside sunk three prahus, with every soul that they contained. Flight became necessary," &c.

There are no records of any censure passed upon the captain of the *Meermin*, for not catching his friends for trial, instead of sinking them.

"Moving, the monarch of a peopled deck," in his steam-frigate, *Auckland*, Captain Young of course would see nothing to "dread" in a pirate's prahu. Yet, when crossing to Sincapore in only a trading prahu, he seems to have appreciated the advantage of pirates not being in "season."

But again, "*No one*," says the captain, "who had *seen* them, could have any great dread of them as *sea-pirates*." That also is possible. The pirate affects not dreadful looks. Such as he was to look at, such as was his prahu in the earliest times, such are they now; low, deckless, unostentatious, they are described by Thucydides to have been in Homer's days.

But what does this officer mean by a "sea-pirate?"

and “the sense generally taken of that term by Englishmen?” Is it a mere quibble upon the fact that “the Dyaks in question” live, when out of season, up the *rivers*? And *how far* must they “venture out”—which he is aware they do—before they entitle themselves to “the term as understood by Englishmen?”—for they have been caught *hundreds of miles* from their rivers by sea; at Slaku, at Sambas, at Pontiana, at Celebes.

Let us, however, finally *ask* some Englishman how he understands the term: and, by way of a change from Mr. Hume’s “concluding” and “opining” captains, suppose we ask Sir Stephen Lushington.

There are two points laid down with equal clearness by that eminent judge.

The first is one to which I directed, by anticipation, Captain Daniell’s attention. It is—that a pirate, to be a pirate, need not attack any particular *flag*.

The second is—that he may be a real “sea-pirate,” under various circumstances.

“It weighs less than nothing with me,” observes this high authority, “to say that they were incapable of distinguishing the British flag, and that if they had known it they would not have attacked it: because, if they were prepared and ready to commence an attack on *any other persons*, it shows that they were of a piratical character.

* * * It can make no difference whether they were inhabitants of that or any other island. *Nor is it to be supposed that the name of pirate does not attach to persons*

on shore, but merely to persons at sea, who *must have some residence on shore*. * * * In these seas (the Bornean) there is every species of distinction to be found. There are persons who carry on the business of pirates, and whose sole occupation is piracy; there are others who resort to it only at particular periods; and there are persons who, only at certain opportunities, show a disregard of all rights, and avail themselves of circumstances to commit piracy. Every one of these cases must depend on its own merits, and on the locality where the transaction took place."

I would just remark, in taking leave of Captain Young, that, while *he* never heard at Labuan of the Serebas pirates, Mr. Hume's next witness admits that "the expedition against them was long talked of there;" and my friend, Lieutenant Hosken R.N., whose word at all times is a guarantee for the truth, attests that there was no more common topic at Labuan, than the outrages of the SEREBAS pirates.

From the two double-barrelled captains of the Indian Navy, whose "evidence" is little worth the tricks it cost to manufacture it, we come to

4. "A communication from a *gentleman* twenty-eight years resident at Sincapore."

"William Henry Miles," is now, and has been for some years, this gentleman's name. Seven years—not twenty-eight—*he* says that he has lived at Sincapore: but this is an immaterial point. Two years at Labuan. The first

light that was thrown upon *his* communication in the House of Commons exposed it as a kind of forgery. It was "cooked,"—and so badly, that none could swallow it.

Mr. Miles, however, if he did not serve up the dish—for it is garnished with scholarship above his mark,—yet found the ingredients for the cook, and he must be considered accordingly : but the letter is long and would be tedious here.

Mr. Miles's qualification to give "information on this subject" (Serebas piracy) is, that he had worked a coal-mine at Labuan.

By way of introduction to Captain Farquhar's "piratical expedition," he says he "will offer some remarks on the Malays from Pontiana to Maludu Bay ;" that is, he will commence 300 miles on one side of the Serebas, and end 500 miles on the other side. This promises a comprehensive view.

What came over him just here is not disclosed ; but not another word do we hear either of Pontiana, or Maludu Bay, or of the intervening country. Mr. Miles simply narrates that while he worked the coal-mine at Labuan he kept his little household gods at Victoria Bay, where "nothing was ever stolen," not even an old pair of hand-cuffs, nor a boxing-glove. The Malays were very honest ; very civil to Mrs. W. H. M. He would as soon trade on the Bornean as on the English coast.

Mr. Miles next adds, as relevant to "this subject," that a young man named Burns lived with the Malays three

months on the Bintoolu river, whence he was brought back to Labuan by Governor Brooke.*

Such being the whole substance of Mr. Miles's communication, his conclusion is,—that the *Serebas people were massacred by Governor Brooke*, “who wants to *murder them into subjection* to the Sarāwak Government.”

Mr. Miles complacently ends, “There can be only one opinion about this with any one acquainted with Sir James Brooke.”

And as to “the piracy question.” Mr. William Henry Miles does not believe *one iota* about it,—a classical expression much used by Mr. Hume himself.

Surely these two individuals reflect disgrace upon each other. Who can touch pitch and not be defiled? What *could* Mr. Hume expect to gain by bringing forward this concoction of ignorance and malevolence? What can his Labuan jackal gain by such an ill-judged re-introduction of him on his native soil? *Peter Lloyd* and *his* early “misfortunes” are brought afresh to light, when they might have remained hidden in the Labuan coal-mine, while his hands might have been supposed clean, except from soot.

“A discreditable affair is it, from first to last,” observed Mr. H. Drummond in the House of Commons; and the gentlemen of England echoed him.

That the dish we have just discussed *had* been, as

* I may as well mention here that Mr. Burns, who was an obscure adventurer, passed himself off among the Kayans as the son of Sir James Brooke, and thereby obtained in marriage a daughter of one of the chiefs. The particulars of his murder by pirates of Maludu Bay, are given in Chapter xvii.

Mr. Drummond said, "cooked" by an over-experienced *artiste*, will be evident if we taste the same animal, served up by that gentleman *au naturel*. The following is a *genuine* letter addressed by him to the Sultan of Bruné. It was amusingly exhibited to the House of Commons,—headed with a vignette view of the Horse Guards :—

"MY DEAR SULTAN,

"Alth in London 1600 miles awhay from you I do not forget you and Borneo and when I come back to Singapore I shall come and see you I have told all my friends in London what nice old Gentleman you are and are much pleased with the account of Borneo and the plesent life the Malays lead the Queen had A little boy the other day I should not be surprized if it is not called The Sultan I must buy some little present in London for the Sultan Before I leeve Mrs Miles and all Her friends sends their Kind Complements to the Sultan tender my respects to Pengaren Molmean and Pengaren Maccootar and all the other Pengarens and nobles of Brunie.

"Oping this will find you all well believe me

"Dear Sultan yours Respectfully

"WILLIAM HENRY MILES,

"LONDON, 24th May, 1840.

"LATE PENGAREN MILES LABUAN.

"P.S. This is the Queens Birthday I drank your and Her very Good Health in A bumper and wished you might live A hundred years."

“There is no slander in an allowed fool, though he do nothing but rail.” So we may leave Pengaren Miles Labuan to his Spelling-book, and his admirers to the consideration of some sensible remarks by Mr. Drummond, which are very applicable to his case.

“There was, he knew, a mock patriotism which thought that it was always doing the public a service by finding fault with people in office, and particularly with those in distant settlements; whereas it was to official men in distant settlements that they ought to be more than ordinarily ready to extend their protection. The House should remember the many worthless adventurers who went out from this country to those settlements, for the purpose of repairing their broken fortunes and character, and with whom official men were necessarily thrown into contact; and how any mark of just severity which might be measured out to those characters was sure to furnish abundant opportunity for slander.”

Let us hasten on.

5. “He,” Mr. Hume, “would next call the attention of the House to a document signed by FIFTY-THREE MERCHANTS of Sincapore.”

This document occupies a column of *Hansard*. It may be read in the Appendix. Fifty-three *merchants* ought to settle *any* question of doubt that ever arose within a merchant's province. *Twelve* merchants of London or Liverpool constitute such a jury as often deals with princely interests. If these fifty-three have failed to bear

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Mr. Hume into port, there *must* be something rotten in their argosies.

“A merchant,” like “a pirate,” must be defined. In England, the term bespeaks position, and respectability. Not so, necessarily, in the East. The old men at the corner of our streets, with whom ragged urchins lay out their halfpence, might style themselves hot-potato and roasted-apple “merchants,” at Sincapore. Anybody who does anything in the way of business, if he can but write his name, is a “merchant;” and especially when an address is getting up by agitators of elastic conscience, content to procure an array of demonstrators numerous, if not select.

“I do follow here in the chase not like a hound that hunts, but one that fills up the cry.”—Both the constitution and the number of Mr. Hume’s Sincapore pack calls this to mind.

As regards, however, the real mercantile community of Sincapore, it is nowhere surpassed in respectability. To many of its members I am personally indebted for friendship and hospitality, which I have pleasure in acknowledging—

“Many a courtesy
That sought no recompense and met with none,
But in the swell of heart with which it came,
Have I experienc’d ”

at Sincapore; and, simply from my own knowledge of them, I could have confidently denied that the address which Mr. Hume displays, is signed by *many* members

of what any one else would call the "mercantile" body of Singapore ; but to this day *he* continues so to style them, and to boast of them as a conclusive band. We must therefore hear what they have to say, so far as this document advances anything which is not already replied to.

Its distinguishing feature is unscrupulousness. It is evidently Mr. Hume's great gun—kept for the last—"Up merchants, and at 'em." And they do rush incontinently both at the Rajah and myself. Disagreeing on one point with their employer, these gentlemen assign to *me* the honour of having first made known to the world these Serebas and Sakarran pirates. They *had* heard of the Lanuns, the Sooloos, the Balaninis ; but *never* of the Serebas and Sakarrans, "until the invasion of their country by Captain the Hon. H. Keppel, in H.M.S. *Dido* ; a measure commented on by many at the time as unjustifiable."

For myself—I of course can only reply to this as Captain Hastings presently does to Mr. Hume—"My conduct has been brought under the notice of my superiors, and by them approved of." Nor let it be thought that approval extends only to the *manner of carrying out* operations. The Judge of the Court of Admiralty has, up to this time, had to investigate and pronounce upon all cases of piracy ; and it was decreed by Sir Stephen Lushington, whose rule, "to decide every such case on its particular merits," I have already cited—it was by him decreed that the Serebas and Sakarrans, chastised by the

Dido, were as genuine pirates as the Lanuns, the Sooloos, or the Balaninis. Where, unless in the free market of Singapore, and for what purposes, do these pirates buy their arms and ammunition?—their muskets and their tons of gunpowder, which we found just in the state in which it had left the manufactory at Dartford?

But these respectable people, by a blunder not uncommon with their kind, go on to prove too much. They consider that they have not been got together to stick at trifles. “Not one among us ever heard the captain of a merchant vessel, or the nakoda of a trading prahu mention having seen a Dyak pirate, although the *novelty* of such prahus must have attracted attention.”

I have abstained from cumbering these pages with hard Malay names and formal depositions, preferring to place evidence of that kind in an appendix. But I must here produce one sample of what might be had in any quantity. The fifty-three merchants who testify as above, and the nakoda who testifies as follows, alike send their evidence from Singapore.

A nakoda is a master or captain of a native-trading prahu. Nakoda Dowlich *loquitur*:—“I have been six times to Singapore for commercial purposes. I arrived here this morning from Oyak, three days’ sail from Sarāwak. My boat is of seventy-five tons burthen, with thirty-four men and three guns. The coast of Borneo is infested with pirates, and has been so for years. *I have been chased by pirates.* They are princi-

pally LANUNS and DYAKS. The Dyaks of SAKARRAN are pirates, and commit ravages along the coast : the Dyaks of SEREBAS are notorious pirates."

The above statement was taken, and that of another nakoda, to the same effect, by Colonel Butterworth, Governor of the Malacca Straits Settlements, for the information of the Indian Government.

"In the absence," he says, "of any evidence from Captain Keppel, regarding the piratical propensities of the chieftains he attacked, Sheriff Sahibe and Sheriff Mulah, I deemed it advisable to take the depositions of the nakodas of two vessels from Borneo, now lying in the Sincapore roads. These will distinctly show that these chieftains are, and have long been the main instigators, and not unfrequently the principal actors, in the piratical cruelties and robberies committed between these settlements and Borneo."

What becomes then of the fifty-three "merchants of Sincapore" to whom all these things are strange ? *

The number of mercantile firms in Sincapore is about twenty-seven ; Mr. Hume stated it to be exactly so. "Out of twenty-seven houses," he says, "fourteen signed an address to Sir James Brooke, and thirteen did not." † The first number is correct ; the other is incorrect.

* One example will show that collectors of signatures may go a little too far. Among those who *never heard of* Serebas pirates is a "master mariner, for three years in command of the *Julia*, belonging to *Sir James Brooke* !"

† In *Hansard* he is made to call this an address from "some place in Borneo." But it must be a mistake of the reporter. In the "Times," it is Sincapore.

This address may be found in the Appendix, and in the Parliamentary Papers.

The address from Sincapore to Sir James Brooke bears *twenty-two signatures*,—being those of the representatives of EVERY MERCANTILE FIRM *established at Sincapore except*, perhaps *three*, and *it* was not extended to the respectable class of natives. If I were not hastening to conclude this Chapter I would set it forth, as a most satisfactory and conclusive document ;—recognising, on such unquestionable authority, the necessity which exists for suppressing Bornean piracy—the propriety of the measures adopted—the humanity and mildness which accompanied their carrying out.

Sir James Brooke received an address of similar import from Batavia ; but “coming in at the last hour,” says Mr. Hume, “it had the appearance of being prepared for the occasion !” How then was Mr. Hume’s prepared ? I believe that an analysis of the list of signatures would give three or four merchants (whose presence need not be here accounted for), and the remainder is made up of a heterogeneous crowd, of whom I may safely say that they are not what Mr. Hume would have his hearers suppose. Common sense goes with us as we compare these rival documents, certifying that the one is true and genuine, while the other reads like an incorporation of such hoaxes as humorous captains and nakodas would pass upon busy-bodies foraging for calumny.

The letter which *I* received in 1843 from the Rajah Muda Hassim, will not here be out of place. It is

mentioned in my "Expedition to Borneo," with a reference to the ceremonious reception of a Letter of State.

"This friendly epistle, having its source in a pure mind, comes from Rajah Muda Hassim, next in succession to the royal throne of the kingdom of Borneo, and who now holds his Court at the trading city of Sarāwak, to our friend Henry Keppel, head Captain of the war-frigate belonging to Her Britannic Majesty, renowned throughout all countries,—who is valiant and discreet, and endowed with a mild and gentle nature.

"This is to inform our friend that there are certain great pirates of SEREBAS and SAKARRAN in our neighbourhood, seizing goods, and murdering people on the high seas. They have more than three hundred war-prahus, and extend their ravages even to Bangermassim. They take much plunder from vessels trading between Sincapore and the good people of our country. It would be a great service if our friend would adopt measures to put an end to these piratical outrages. We can present nothing better to our friend than a kris, such as it is."

I did adopt the measures recorded in the above-named work ; measures honoured by the approbation of the Government—by the disapprobation of Mr. Hume—by the "comments" of these memorialists of Sincapore, who cannot, I think, have studied what they signed.

6. The last in Mr. Hume's array is my friend, the Hon. Captain Hastings, in connection with whose name he has made the most of a circumstance, which had no bearing

whatever upon the matter in debate. Mr. Hume had “addressed some inquiries to this gallant officer, accompanied with an intimation that he was about to move for inquiry into Sir James Brooke’s conduct, on the 21st July, 1849. He asks Captain Hastings, as we gather from *his* reply, why he had refused compliance with Sir James Brooke’s request, “on the occasion referred to in the enclosed.” These allusions are obscure, and seem to have been intentionally left so, to mystify those who might not be aware of certain facts : Captain Hastings replies that “his superiors having approved of his conduct, he is precluded from offering Mr. Hume any statement of the matter.”

We have no date given us of the “occasion referred to ;” but the date of his own inquiry is carefully given, February 14, 1851,—of course eighteen months later than Captain Farquhar’s action. Mr. Hume’s comment is this. “If Captain Hastings, being called upon to assist Sir James Brooke against these pirates—for this is the *fact* referred to—and *refusing* to do so, was approved of by his superiors, why did they *also* approve the conduct of *Captain Farquhar* in *rendering* aid to Sir James Brooke?” The argument sounds better than many of Mr. Hume’s, and I have met with those who gave it weight ; until a slight explanation followed which was not likely to come out in the debate, and would be too late the day after, as to any effect on members’ opinions *then*. What *is* this explanation ? Merely, that the occasion on which

Captain Hastings refused to assist Sir James Brooke against a fleet of pirates, far from being the same occasion on which Captain Farquhar did assist him ;—was *five years previous* to it! and Mr. Hume must have learned from my “Expedition to Borneo,” the reason which constrained Captain Hastings to decline this operation—his disappointment at being so constrained—and the fact that *I* very shortly after, not being under similar difficulty, did attack the very pirates whom he was forced to leave, and had the honour of being approved of by my superiors ;—and they were the same individuals who approved of my gallant friend’s refusal. I say that Mr. Hume must have learned this from my “Expedition to Borneo ;” because, if he have truly “given great attention to this subject,” he cannot have been deterred by any defects of style, from seeking information in a work which was the first that appeared on Bornean subjects, and which abounds in stubborn facts on piracy, such as even *I* was qualified to record. He will have read in that work, vol. ii. p. 81, a letter from Sir James Brooke to myself, dated 26th May, 1844.

It states that H. M. S. *Harlequin*, commanded by Captain Hastings—had lately appeared off the coast, just as the notorious pirate Seriff Sahib had collected, for one of their harmless regattas, a fleet of 200 Dyak boats and fifteen or twenty armed Malay prahus ; “and,” adds the Rajah, “we might have had them all.” In the next page, Mr. Hume will have read, “No one could have been

more disappointed, or could have regretted more than my gallant friend Captain Hastings, that *his orders did not admit of any delay*, or of his attacking that redoubtable pirate, Seriff Sahib." He was under orders for England.

"Good reason must of force give way to better."

But in less than three months after this, the *Dido* took up the work against *these* pirates, and her work was approved of. Mr. Hume ignores these facts ; he brings five years forwarder one solitary circumstance, and thus dishonours my honourable and gallant friend, by parading him as a witness on his side. Is it possible to suppose that Mr. Hume wished the facts to be understood as they occurred ? I think not : first, because he might easily have stated them unmistakeably : secondly, because, so stated, they would have made an argument too ridiculous even for *him*.

Captain Hastings, to his honour, immediately after Mr. Hume's application to him, offered Sir James Brooke his best assistance "to resist the cruel and unjust persecution waging against him."

"PERSECUTION" has been the term applied to these proceedings by some of the most distinguished personages in the land : and their opinion has its echo in the public voice. Whence then does it arise ? what motives actuate it ? what are the hidden springs that *keep* it going ? Who annually winds up this one night's tediousness ? Some who know Mr. Hume speak of him as a "good-

natured man." It may be so ; indiscriminate good-nature gets into many scrapes. No kinder suggestion, however, could be made for him than Mr. Drummond's—viz. that, although deprecating the idea of being the tool of others, he *is* their tool without suspecting it : but surely it would be equally good-natured to play at marbles with his grandchildren ; and his best friends would look on with greater pleasure, than while he exhibits himself as a foot-ball for the *ill*-natured and the mischievous to kick at decent people's heads. The honourable gentleman must, however, rather be classed, *I* think, with the agatho-caco-physical,—the good-and-evil-natured, both at once : amiable at Burnley hall, inclined to teaze at Westminster (nor hesitating occasionally—perhaps after a bad day's sport, to send a malicious shot even from his country play-ground).

This is the convenient moral liberty advocated by Mr. Hume himself. Sir James Brooke is with *him* politically a delinquent, but privately, perhaps, a Christian gentleman.

There *is* a "reform" gaining ground which repudiates *these* niceties of an almost bygone time ; the urbanity of the urbane, and the honesty of the honest, and the Christianity of the Christian, are looked for now *in* as well as *out of* those august assemblies, which affect to give a tone to all society, and in which, as a prelude to their deliberations, the Speaker is announced to be "at prayers." My friend Sir James Brooke, for one, declines

any acquittal placed on *this* foundation. "I despise," he has lately told Mr. Hume, "the refinements of the politician who would separate the public from the private character of a gentleman."

It will be well if Mr. Hume will show himself what he perhaps really is ; if he will shake off the appearance—unfortunate for an amiable man—of indulging in hostility which he personally disclaims. That Sir James Brooke has some few enemies is evident : his public friends have plainly pointed out both men and motives ; even now Mr. Hume argues from documents confessedly supplied by *them*. Patriotism should shun *suspicion* : the clean should not be found with the unclean, unless they would be thought to have lost their nobler natures, and to be content, though eagles born, to feed on carrion.

I would fain adopt in Mr. Hume's behalf any stretch of charity,—any strain of construction—any metamorphosis of words, which would free him from the imputation of employing his waning talents, and the evening of his days, in vitiating the truth that he may crush the good. His only escape is offered him by Mr. Drummond. If *I* be asked who pulls the wires for his anniversary exhibition in July, I will only say I am not called upon to grope for them ; nor should *I* think it necessary, since Mr. Hume disowns such influences, to force to the light any one, who, whatever may be his moral or his social errors, has the taste, the discretion, or the luck to walk in the darkness which becomes his

deeds. But if there be those who, while endeavouring to undermine their betters' reputation, court notoriety, and force themselves on fame ; if any thrust slanderous opinions on official personages—stir up pseudo-philanthropic societies—work upon pseudo-Christian meetings—and, after years of approbation, of admiration, of fulsomeness, become suddenly philo-Serebas, philo-Sakarrans, philo-Dyaks, only because they would be miso-Brookes,—these people will assuredly, like owls coming out in the day-time, find *some* to hoot them ; some to remind them that it *does* disgust to see men glory in their shame.

I will simply say, then, that I am of those who incline to believe in the “extenuating circumstance,” as the French say,—poor at best—that Mr. Hume had not time to look into this case and to “get up” this argument for himself. We must not allow him to say that it “has occupied much of his attention.” I believe, then, that he at first took up a case in which his, perhaps honest, sympathies were engaged by the falsehood and exaggeration of those who wished to stir him up : that he must have trusted to *them* for facts, and for proofs thereof ; and that he was not aware, until too late, of the argumentative frauds and follies which he was doomed to utter. Brooke and Earl mis-quoted—four officers extemporised out of two (then only to talk double nonsense)—a ticket-of-leave “gentleman,” from a Labuan coal-mine, with a letter cooked up for him, lest *he* should not devise untruths enough—a “merchants’” memorial with scarcely a

merchant's name—a simple naval occurrence twisted to a false date, and assigned to a suppositious cause—*such* is an imperfect summary of what the member for Montrose has been induced—or seduced—to lay before the British House of Commons, from which they were to consent that my friend should forego the felon's privilege, and submit to be annually put upon trial—not for his life, but for that dearer stake, his honour.

And, to close with a practical question,—What would an inquiry—granted to-morrow—give us? Inevitably one of two results equally unprofitable, to say the least. Either a budget of stale truths, already attested beyond rational doubt, some of which will be found in the Appendix; or a consignment of newly-coined untruths, disgraceful alike to the consignors and to the consignee.

When I consider that I have still one of my proposed points untouched, I feel that I must have heavily taxed my readers' patience. I shall endeavour to make the next Chapter brief and matter-of-fact; and therein to mention as rarely as possible Mr. Hume.

The honourable member for Montrose has been useful to England—very useful in his day; but not by traducing characters: nor is it a reproach to him that his value has been of that particular kind which makes the adjutant-bird sacred in Oriental cities, and the vulture valuable in the desert. His vocation has been to consume whatever savoured of corruption,—a thankless, an unenvied, but still, when pursued in moderation and

sincerity, an eminently patriotic path. A *résumé* of his political career will, doubtless, some day, in its turn, flash from those brilliant biographical laboratories of the "Times," which so marvellously extemporise a tributary torch to light the politician to his tomb. But against his acknowledged political good qualities a discriminating pen *must* find one set-off—that he adopted early the motto of Coriolanus—

" Let it be virtuous to be *obstinate*."

and that, whereas the Roman was ashamed of it in a few days, the Saxon stuck to it through life.

Whenever his career shall close, Mr. Hume will doubtless leave behind him a mass of materials for his biographer, which emboldens me to give him one word of parting counsel. *Let* his records testify that he was a HERCULES in the Augean stable of state abuses ; that he was the spoiler of rotten boroughs ; the terror of sinecurists ; the economist of state gunpowder ; the save-all of green tape ; the unappeasable CERBERUS of the public purse. *But* let him *bury* during his life—to make sure of it—*every paper on Borneo* for which he ever moved, and, on pain of disinheritance to his heir, let him command that they never be exhumed. Then may still some partial Plutarch find him *some* decent parallel, though perhaps not exactly the niche which he ambitioned, as the SOLON or the ARISTIDES of his age. *I* can only name the man with whom he will *not* be paralleled ; not with him

to whom is already awarded, with unusual readiness at the hand of Fame, the meed of higher usefulness, of wider philanthropy, of purer principle, of nobler views for the amelioration of his kind.

Already too, by force of the like general, unmistakeable award, that man's unconscientious calumniators, amongst whom I *wish* not to count one British senator, have seen evaporate, as from a well-burnished mirror the cloudy spot, with which they dulled—scarcely for a moment—a character above their comprehension, and which can now be only tarnished by their praise.

CHAPTER XIII.

REPLY TO MR. HUME CONCLUDED—"UNDUE SEVERITY"—DOCUMENTARY REFUTATIONS
—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON PIRACY AND ITS REMEDIES.

ACCORDING to my plan, proposed in Chapter XI., I am now to show that Mr. Hume's second position is as untenable as his first. It is this : that—

Supposing the Malays and Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran to be really pirates, still, an unjustifiable loss of life was inflicted on them by the naval force which attacked their fleet on the 21st July, 1849. This I should deny with equal confidence in any shape ; but my particular task is to refute the charge. As it has pleased Mr. Hume to lay its supposed odium on Sir James Brooke—sometimes exclusively, sometimes with just that show of dividing his favours, which invites one to contradict him generally as well as particularly.

“Sir James Brooke caused many hundred weak savages to be slaughtered, under the allegation that they were pirates. * * * While Sir James Brooke slaughters

Dyaks in his own immediate neighbourhood in Borneo, he advocates the cause of religion, education, and benevolence in England ; talks of establishing churches and school-houses, of planting missionaries and a bishop at Sarāwak."

Supposing them to be pirates ! I think we may "conclude" and "opine" that they are so, and pass to the *unsettled* question at once. If Mr. Hume is not yet convinced, and if he knows any one else who is not, I can only suggest, as a last resort, the fashionable pastime of a *lecture* on piracy.

We have "Journies from Cornhill to Cairo," "Visits to the American Indians," "Walks about Jerusalem," "Ascents of Mont Blanc," and why not "A Voyage up the Serebas," &c., with *tableaux vivans* to match ? and, by way of drawing a house, we might anticipate the "unprecedented attraction" of seeing Mr. Hume convinced, and hearing him confess that he has been mistaken. The illustrations shall be in keeping : guns from the unarmed—poisoned arrows from the inoffensive—models of war-prahus used by peaceful traders—a Dyak skull (I know where there is one) taken from a Sakarran house. I shall be happy, in short, if he will bring his sceptical party to my cottage,—

" Around the fire an evening group to draw,
And tell of *all* I felt, and *all* I saw"

of PIRACY.

But we must now get on. *Supposing* then, again, that

some one admits enough to give us a second start—next comes the question of “undue severity.”

For the senator who is also the general censor, Mr. Hume allows himself *rather* a wider margin than he allows his victims. What would *he* make of the following sentences, uttered by any other single mouth in one and the same debate?—Opening speech: “I protest against the commission of murders, *fifteen hundred* or *two thousand* at a time.” Closing speech: “I am convinced of the accuracy of my information that *five hundred* persons have been destroyed as pirates,” &c. Surely a man who had been thus informed, and believed the information to be accurate, need not, at starting on a grave and “blasting” charge, multiply the truth by four.

But he improves even on this: “What shall be said, where men were suspected to be pirates, yet offered no resistance, while *themselves, their wives, and children* were destroyed?”

Surely, the man who goes on thus must have fallen into the error, against which a greater man warns him, of “indulging some weakness in the management of his intellectual faculty, which is prejudicial to him in the search of truth.” * * * “He, whose assent goes beyond his evidence, owes this excess of his adherence only to prejudice.” * * * “Truth is all simple, all pure, will bear no mixture of anything else with it. It is rigid, and inflexible to any bye interests; and so should the understanding be, whose use and excellence lies in conforming

itself to *it*." * * * "Men are apt to excuse themselves, and think they have reason to do so, if they have but a pretence that it is for God or a good cause—though it is, in effect, for themselves, their own persuasion, or party. But God requires not men to wrong or misuse their faculties for him ; nor to lie to others or themselves for his sake—which they purposely do who will not suffer their understandings to have right conceptions of the things proposed to them, and designedly restrain themselves from having just thoughts of everything, as far as they are concerned to inquire. And as for a good cause, that needs not such ill helps ; if it be good, truth will support it, and it has no need of fallacy or falsehood."

These and other wise things are said by one John Locke, in his chapter on BIAS.

The exact number of pirates slain, as certified by the Judge, and on which head-money was decreed, is five hundred. By adding to these all others, who are not known to have reached their homes, the total amount is brought up to about eight hundred.

Let me observe here, on the subject of head-money, which is now abolished, that I do not believe there is a man in the Navy who would not prefer its abolition to the imputation of taking a fellow-creature's life for money. While the law was in force, the payments for pirate service could be as honourably received as those for any other service ; but no professional man can regret that a ground of illiberal suspicion and reproach is taken out of

the way. The abolition of head-money, however, had been determined on, and the bill prepared, a year before Captain Farquhar's action. I may be allowed to refer to my "Expedition to Borneo" (vol. ii. p. 9), for one among the innumerable examples which exist of the manner in which British sailors treat their enemies, even when to leave a wound unstaunched might be worth twenty pounds. After being most wantonly attacked by two piratical prahus, and first making an example of them after another fashion, Lieutenant (now Commander) Wilmot Horton had every possible attention paid to the wounded, and restored them their boats ; upon which act of mercy there is, at page 78 of the same volume, a comment by Sir James Brooke, which I commend to Mr. Hume's attention. "I am sure," says he, "Lieutenant Horton acted rightly in sparing their lives and property ; for, with these occasional pirates, a severe lesson, followed by that degree of conciliation and pardon which shall best ensure a correction of their vices, is far wiser and preferable to a course of undistinguishing severity."

Here is enough to show what was the *principle* which my friend had in view, and of which he never lost sight in dealing with piracy. From this point, I purpose to set in order certain known facts and official documents, which will tell a simple history for themselves, and decide, I anticipate, the question at issue, whether as affecting Sir James Brooke, or any naval officer concerned therein. I shall still have occasionally to direct special attention to

the part taken by Sir James, in order more clearly to show that only a wilful blindness to the truth could select *him* for the odium, which Mr. Hume would fix upon operations not only necessary but merciful. "That these operations had become necessary," says Sir James Brooke, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston, "is a matter of regret; and it is to be regretted that, in consequence, an unavoidable loss of life occurred. The inevitable results of warfare, savage or civilised, are in theory to be deplored; but there is no reason to doubt that the active measures pursued, saved many *innocent* lives, and that in point of true humanity, it was far preferable to attack the people of Serebas than to allow *them* to continue their career of indiscriminate slaughter."

No reasonable person will question the soundness of such a conclusion generally, from such premises: and the premises have been proved in this particular case.

And now, if the history is to tell itself, it must be slightly retrospective: I will, however, only go back to the year 1824.

By a treaty signed in that year—*twenty-eight years ago*—between Great Britain and Holland, the sovereigns of the respective countries engage themselves to concur *effectually* in repressing piracy in the Eastern Seas—the evil having then long had a most baneful effect on commerce. That the said Sovereigns never *did* concur effectually to crush a confessed scourge is manifest. It would be foreign to my purpose to examine the complaints

of the Netherlands Government on this head. A perusal of De Groot's report inclines one to think that there is on the part of that government a sensitive jealousy of being assisted, even in such an object, which may have rendered it difficult "effectually to concur with them."

In 1847—that is, after allowing piracy a further lease of the Indian Archipelago for twenty-three years—the before-mentioned treaty being all that time waste-paper, but still existing—in 1847, I say, a treaty of friendship and commerce was signed between Her Britannic Majesty and the Sultan of Borneo, by the ninth article of which these Sovereigns unequivocally and solemnly "engage to use *every means in their power* for the suppression of piracy within the seas, straits, *and* RIVERS subject to their respective control and influence." By the tenth article of this treaty the Island of Labuan is ceded to Her Majesty for commercial purposes, including, of course, *protection* to commerce.

This treaty was sought, and this settlement was determined on, in compliance with urgent representations, as to the necessity of some such an establishment as "a terror to pirates," by the Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, East India and other great Commercial Chambers or Associations.

In 1847 Sir James Brooke was appointed Governor of Labuan and Consul-General and Commissioner to the Native and Independent Chiefs of the Indian Archipelago.

What is the meaning of this magnificent title? It is explained by a despatch from Lord Palmerston to His Excellency the said Consul-General, &c. &c., bearing date the 23rd February, 1848, thus :—

“ Your previous communications with this office will have already made you aware, that the OBJECT of Her Majesty’s Government, in conferring upon you the appointment which you hold, as regards the relations of Great Britain with the native and independent chiefs of Borneo, is to afford to British commerce that support and protection which, though needed in all foreign countries, is *peculiarly* required in the *Indian Seas*, in consequence of the prevalence of PIRACY.”

Thus we arrive at a point of time, at which we see Sir James Brooke selected by the British Government—obvious considerations presenting *him* as the fittest person—to assist, as Her Majesty’s representative, in giving effect to old treaties long neglected, and to new treaties concluded specially for the suppression of piracy. He is in that respect the servant of his Sovereign and of his country, with the simple duty imposed on him of obedience to his instructions, and he is instructed *to put down piracy* in the Indian seas.

And now our attention is directed to another class of Her Majesty’s servants, entirely independent of this Consul and Commissioner,—viz., the Naval service, and, as its moving spring, the “Commander-in-chief in the East Indies and seas adjacent.”

Amongst *his* instructions is the following :—

“ You will employ the *force* under your orders *to the utmost in* CHECKING PIRACY, as well in the *Malayan Sea* as on the coast of China ; but you will much rather endeavour to check piracy among the islands of the Archipelago by a good understanding, and by enforcing the observance of treaties with the native chiefs, than by encouraging hostile operations, and expeditions of a coercive character.”

The particular officer on whom was imposed the duty of obedience to *these* instructions in the spring and summer of 1849, was Sir Francis Collier.

These instructions would involve the *following* duty, as connected with the subject we are discussing.

In the event of Sir James Brooke failing to secure for British commerce “ support and protection from piracy,” by diplomatic and peaceable influences with the Bornean chiefs, then—it being still his duty *to* secure it—he must do it by force ; and for that force he is to look to the naval Commander-in-chief in the Indian Seas.

On such an application being made to that officer, it became *his* duty, according to *his* instructions, first to satisfy himself that every proper effort had been made to effect the desired end ; and then, from the moment of his feeling so satisfied, to “ employ the *force* under his command *to the utmost in* CHECKING PIRACY.”

Neither Sir Francis Collier, nor any other commander-in-chief reading his instructions, and vigilant to perform his duty, was likely to be long ignorant of the piratical

character and deeds of the Serebas and Sakarran pirates on the coast of Borneo, considering that they had reached the pitch of daring now to be described, and that their effect on commerce and on all industrial pursuits had become such as is exhibited in the following passage. It is from the pen of Sir James Brooke himself. It would be as much waste of time to argue his title to be believed above Pengaren Miles Labuan, as it would be to compare their styles of writing.

“ The piratical character of the Serebas pirates,” writes Her Majesty’s anti-piratical Commissioner, “ is so notorious that the native laughs when he hears that it is doubted. The slaughters perpetrated, the vessels captured, the towns pillaged, the men murdered, the women and children reduced to slavery—the former to worse than slavery!—are proved and recorded facts. These, and such-like subjects are the common topics of conversation ; the latest depredation of the Serebas is mentioned as the last horrid murder is mentioned in London. The first inquiry of the trader on arriving in port, is, whether the Serebas are at sea. The fisherman dares not follow his vocation ; the land below the defences of each town lies uncultivated ; districts, fertile once, are denuded of their population ; trade destroyed ; the shores rendered unsafe ; rapine stalks abroad, and no community is strong enough to cope single-handed with the pirates. The effects on commerce may be imagined ; the unscrupulous seek profit, in spite of danger, by dealing with the plunderers, and

the produce brought to market is fit for a pirate to sell, and for a felon to purchase."

Such being the state of things on the return of Sir James Brooke to Sarāwak from England, whither he had gone as a private individual scarcely known, and whence he returned with a world-wide celebrity, *and*—which is more to our purpose—with a commission to put down piracy, by peaceful means, if possible, but in any case to put it down,—such, I say, being the state of things, the next document which claims our attention is a letter addressed by him to Lord Palmerston, bearing date the 13th September, 1848. From this it will be seen that he had given immediate attention to his responsible duties, and had already, from the magnitude of the evil, and the impotence or insincerity of the Sultan of Borneo, become convinced that nothing but a strong arm would enable him to be faithful to the trust reposed in him, or to answer the expectations of the commercial community, and of his Government.

SIR JAMES BROOKE TO VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

" MY LORD,

" SARAWAK, *Sept.* 13th. 1848.

" I beg to inform your Lordship of my arrival at this place in Her Majesty's ship *Mæander*, and of my purpose of sending to the river Sadong, in order to inquire into and expose an intrigue which the Rajahs of Bruné are carrying on, through a few of their adherents, with the piratical chiefs of the Serebas and

Sakarran rivers, with whom they have been holding a friendly communication for the purpose of acquiring power amongst them. To this line of conduct during my absence, and to the length of time which has elapsed since their last punishment, may be attributed the increasing boldness of these pirates, who now venture, as formerly, to cruise in large fleets of their war prahus, and commit fearful depredations on the more industrious and peaceful classes, both by sea and on the coasts. I propose, when the proper season returns, to request the aid of the naval officer in command to punish the inhabitants of these rivers ; and, in the meantime, I have addressed letters to the chiefs of the various places in their vicinity, to acquaint them that, if they encourage or hold communication with the pirates, they themselves will be accounted pirates, and punished. I am endeavouring to make a marked distinction between the piratical party and those who live by oppression and plunder, and the party which is faithful and sincere to the cause of good government ; and I entertain not the slightest doubt that, by pursuing a course of stringent measures, we shall be enabled thoroughly to subdue and humble these people, and eradicate their propensity for piracy. I will not here trouble your Lordship with the detail of the policy to be pursued towards the Sultan and Rajahs of Bruné ; but I may remark that, as good faith is not to be expected from so bad a government, I shall turn my attention solely to enforcing the due observance of the stipulations

of the treaty, more especially those articles which relate to the protection of commerce, and the suppression of piracy."

It will not be here out of place to prove beyond dispute, upon other evidence than his own, the fact that it was not Sir James Brooke's practice, nor his inclination, to decide precipitately on coercive measures: and this is independent of another consideration, always to be borne in mind,—that the Commander-in-Chief was practically interposed between any person in Sir James Brooke's position, and any precipitate resolution to which such a person might come; and that his discretionary power to refuse co-operation was absolute.

The predecessor of Sir Francis Collier on the same station was Sir Thomas Cochrane, from whose correspondence Mr. Hume quoted an isolated passage which he would persuade us is in opposition to the sentiments or practice of my friend. For instance: "The admiral 'informed' Sir James Brooke that much more was to be done for the repression of piratical habits among the tribes of the Bornean coast, by the spread of commerce and Christianity than by operations of a coercive nature." This "information" sounds valuable; but, separated from its context, it is really mere empty sound; and it seems to be Mr. Hume's peculiar *forte* so to quote everybody as to make everything they may say defeat itself. The great grievance is that *neither* COMMERCE *nor* CHRISTIANITY *can* be spread until PIRACY shall have

received a death-blow. *Then* is COMMERCE ready to come forth from her retreat, and to become gradually the means of *permanently* weaning the pirate from his ways ; and then is CHRISTIANITY ready to follow in her train : but Sir Thomas Cochrane could never mean to “inform” any man in his senses that a disease was only to be cured by a remedy, which could only be brought into existence after the disease *had* been cured—King Alfred might as well have “informed” his subjects that “more was to be done for the repression of wolves by the multiplication of sheep, and by making the wolves as tame as dogs, than by any operations of a decapitative nature.” But Mr. Hume is generally unfortunate when he hangs on to a respectable authority : nobody of that stamp whom he quotes is found, on examination, really to go with him in this matter. Sir Thomas Cochrane, in a letter of which I shall give other portions according as they shall apply to the point under discussion, enables us in the following passage to judge whether Sir James Brooke would prematurely ask a Commander-in-Chief for the means of resorting to coercive measures. Thus writes Sir Thomas Cochrane :—“With regard to the attack upon the Serebas and Sakarran pirates, I derive my persuasion that the means were only resorted to as of absolute necessity, from the fact that either upon my first or second visit to Sarāwak, having heard that those people were disturbing that settlement as well as other parts of the coast, *I offered to place a force at Mr. Brooke’s disposal*, for the

purpose of bringing them to reason ; but, so far from hastily availing himself of my offer, he informed me that he was *trying by peaceful and gentle means* to lead them to a quiet and industrious life, and he *hoped not to have occasion to resort to coercion* ; but in which it would appear the result had not responded to his anxious wishes."

Mr. Hume really must not cite respectable witnesses from the spot : *their* stubborn practical "information" *must* capsize him.

And now I may cite the next despatch of Her Majesty's Commissioner for the suppression of piracy to the Head of the Foreign Office. It bears date, Sarāwak, 6th March, 1849, and, after expressing a fear that "without some special arrangement made for the purpose, there will be little or no chance of being able to carry into effect his Lordship's instructions of the 23rd February, 1848, the writer proceeds as follows :—" I am particularly anxious to call your Lordship's attention to the present state of piracy in the immediate vicinity of Sarāwak. The Serebas and Sakarran pirates, emboldened by the length of time which has elapsed since the attack made upon them by Captain the Honourable Henry Keppel, have once more left their rivers in formidable force, and have, for two months past, devastated the coast for upwards of one hundred miles ; numerous prahus have been captured at sea, the boats plundered, and the crews murdered ; several villages have been attacked and taken, and,

at the lowest computation, from 300 to 400 persons have been massacred by these ferocious marauders within this short period. It may afford your Lordship some idea of the formidable nature of their force when I state that only five days ago they were at sea with from 100 to 130 prahus, most certainly averaging thirty-five men to each prahu." (This is the piratical expedition of which I have given some details in Chapter VIII.)

Then follow some preventive suggestions, which it would be at present premature to quote ; after which Sir James Brooke concludes as follows :—" I need no longer dwell on this topic, as your Lordship will perceive the immediate and ultimate consequences of allowing a fierce horde of pirates to traverse the high seas, and to devastate the coasts. But I beg of your Lordship, in conclusion, to direct that such a naval force shall be employed as may enable us to strike a severe blow at the pirates, and subsequently to recommend such a vigorous system of superintendence, as may prevent the daily and yearly recurrence of such events as I have stated with deep regret."

On the same day Sir James Brooke addressed the Commander-in-Chief, in a letter of which the *Mæander* was the bearer. He received it in China about the 1st of April. It informed him that the pirates were at sea in force ; and after enumerating their atrocities, as in the despatch to the Foreign Office, it thus concludes :—" The entire coast is in alarm : trade is at an end : the very

fishermen are flying to the interior for safety : I will not disguise from you that both Captain Keppel's character and my own are compromised in native opinion," &c.

He states, in a subsequent despatch to Lord Palmerston, that "the necessity was so pressing at the time, and that it had become so urgent a duty to save the lives of innocent people, that he went out in native boats, until he was assisted by the steamer *Nemesis*, when he surprised the people of Serebas through the Kaluka river, with the object of keeping them in check, till a larger force should arrive," &c.

Thus the naval Commander-in-Chief received *information*—not *orders*—from Her Majesty's Consul at Labuan. He was his own judge of the necessity and propriety of taking any active measures in consequence of such information. He was his own judge as to the meaning and spirit of the instructions *he* had received from the Admiralty : and, therefore, were I to stop *here*, it is evident that Sir James Brooke must stand exonerated from any share in responsibilities which could not possibly be divided, but which must be borne by some one individual. There can no blame attach to Sir James Brooke for stating *facts* to the Commander-in-Chief for *his* information. If *he* decided that the facts disclosed called for armed intervention, *he* was accountable for this decision : and, in turn, the officer who received from him orders to execute is accountable for all that was done in execution of these orders. Where then can Sir James

Brooke's accusers bring him in? He was not the Commander-in-Chief—he was not the executive officer: true, he joined that officer, and co-operated with him; but let every one have his proper place, and there let each, in turn, be vindicated.

I am sure the unprejudiced reader has gone with me thus far; to admit—first, that the Commander-in-Chief did no more than his duty in despatching a man-of-war to the Bornean coast in the spring of 1849: and next, that the responsibility of everything which was done by that ship, or under the orders of its commanding officer, rests primarily with *his* professional superior, and, secondarily, with himself. That officer was Commander Farquhar, of H.M.S. *Albatross*. I will now give the instructions received by *him*; and if *he* did not exceed nor fall short of them, then is Commander Farquhar also free from blame.

“ You are required, and hereby directed to put to sea in Her Majesty's sloop *Albatross*, under your command, and proceed to Labuan, and announce your arrival to His Excellency Sir James Brooke, Governor of that settlement; and in the event of his being absent at Sarāwak, you will proceed off that coast to communicate with His Excellency.

“ In consequence of a representation made to me by Sir James Brooke, that it is intended to make an attempt to DESTROY *the Serebas and Sakarran pirates*, between the present time and the month of July next, *you will afford His Excellency your assistance in carrying out THIS OBJECT,*

in which, from the force you will find at your disposal, there is no doubt you will be successful.

“ You are at liberty to employ the Company’s steam-vessels *Semiramis* and *Nemesis*, and Her Majesty’s surveying-vessel *Royalist* in this service ; but you must take every precaution not to expose the men to needless danger, either from the climate or from the enemy.

“ *Dated 8th day of April, 1849.*”

I need not recapitulate Captain Farquhar’s proceedings in obedience to these orders. They are detailed by myself in Chapter IX. : the official reports of them have been laid before Parliament, and may be easily seen. I must not be supposed to have any feeling save regret at a sacrifice of human life ; but one thing is certain,—that if Captain Farquhar swerved at all from his orders, it was on the side of mercy ; for he was ordered to “ *destroy* the Serebas and Sakarran pirates ”—“ to assist in *carrying out* this object : ” and when 500 are slain or drowned, and all subsequent casualties swell the loss to 800 out of nearly 4000 pirates, the officer in command could scarcely report that he had acted *up* to his orders in “ *destroying*,” though he well knew that a discretion so exercised would not be questioned. That this signal chastisement was inflicted on such a piratical force, with scarcely a casualty on his side, is sufficient proof that Commander Farquhar most fully and laudably acted up to his orders to “ take every precaution not to expose the

men to needless danger, either from the climate or from the enemy :” nor is less credit due to him on this ground, although the circumstance be immediately attributable to the *panic* which seized the enemy ; inasmuch as, if an officer makes such arrangements for receiving an expected enemy, far outnumbering his own force, as to *produce* such a panic, the result in their total defeat without loss to himself is as much to his credit as any other operation of war can be. The practice of the great man whom the nation now mourns and honours was ever this,—to effect his purposes with the least possible sacrifice of his soldiers’ lives ; nor will I waste a line upon those who make it a reproach to kill the viper without stinging oneself.

Commander Farquhar received the approval of his superiors in the most acceptable shape,—promotion ; to which was added the approval of the respective Heads of the Foreign and Colonial offices.

“ You will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Her Majesty’s Government entirely approve of this gallant and successful operation.

“ Viscount PALMERSTON cannot but hope that the *energetic measures of repression*, and the prudent arrangements for future prevention, which are detailed in Sir F. Collier’s despatch, will have the effect of affording to peaceful commerce in those quarters that security of which it has hitherto been deprived by the aggression of piratical fleets.”

" Lord GREY has received with much satisfaction Commander Farquhar's report of his successful operations against these pirates."

I think I may say that this history has told *itself*; and that all concerned in the operations under discussion did no more than what " England always expects every man to do—his *duty*."

But where was the ferocious Rajah? and how many poor Dyak men, Dyak *women*, and Dyak *children* (for with such ferocities he is charged withal) did he really massacre? The very name of his prahu, *Singh Rajah* (Lion King) proves him to be a blood-thirsty anthropophagus.—This is just all the proof that can be found of his murderous performances. That he was on the scene, that he concurred in the necessity of what *was* done, is freely admitted; but it so happens for those who select him as *the* individual who especially "perpetrated the massacres" (Mr. Hume's words) that the position which he had taken up in the Kaluka river, and from which he did not stir until the morning after the action, confined *his* murderous operations to the firing of one signal rocket. Let the reader turn to page 156,—“ He was in ignorance of what took place, and passed the night in exciting, though confident suspense.” I may add that he was, on the day and night of the action, labouring under a severe attack of fever and ague, which would alone have incapacitated him from taking a prominent part. He was, I admit, equally responsible for anything done by *his orders*;

but it must not be forgotten that, besides the Sarāwak Dyaks and Malays, whom he *could* in a great degree control, there accompanied the expedition volunteer auxiliaries from many other tribes, embittered against the pirates by continual wrongs. These it was not so easy completely to restrain ; and at *their* hands *may* have been committed in hot blood a few such excesses as are either common to all savage, or are characteristic of Dyak warfare : for these, if any such occurred, neither Sir James Brooke nor Captain Farquhar can be blamed. It is well known that the former was urged by these native auxiliaries, on the morning after the action, to take such a position as would intercept all the fugitives, which might have been easily done ; but he rejected the proposal, and not only stopped the pursuit as soon as possible, but offered a reward for every prisoner taken alive. It is equally well known that all such prisoners were fed and well cared for, until released at a favourable opportunity ; that the Rajah afterwards received many tokens of gratitude from those who had been captives ; and that his humanity produced very beneficial effects upon the tribes chastised. Nor did this emanate from, or depend upon, any sudden impulse ; it was his *principle*, laid down before setting out,—“ Although piracy must be crushed at any cost, I am desirous of effecting its suppression at the smallest possible sacrifice of human life.” *

If, then, censure is to be passed upon any party, it

* Letter to Lord Palmerston, 16th April, 1849.

must commence much higher,—with the inventors of gunpowder, and grape, and rockets ; or at least, seriously, with the state department which gives out to the British navy these destructives, as munitions of war. Mr. Hume will, moreover, have to explain to Captain Farquhar, on the map which he has had lithographed,—and on which, to assist an impartial judgment, he conspicuously lays down the “scene of the massacre,”—he must, I say, shew Captain Farquhar in what direction, after allowing the pirates to escape, he could have himself escaped from a certain awkward document, the repeal of which I am not aware that Mr. Hume ever proposed,* and which is therefore in full force, under the common title, “ARTICLES OF WAR,—“to be duly observed and put in execution,” says the preamble, “as well in time of peace as in time of war.”

In the 13th clause of this Act we read as follows :—
 “Every person in the fleet, who, through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, *shall forbear to pursue the chase* of any enemy, PIRATE, or rebel, *beaten or flying*, &c., shall suffer death.”

Such is at this moment, except as to a modification of the punishment, the law of the land : Commander Farquhar had accordingly to choose between two courses ; one, that would stigmatise him as “cowardly, negligent,

* “An Act for Amending, &c., the Laws relating to the government of His Majesty’s ships, vessels, and forces by sea, passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of King George the Second.”

or disaffected," (for the law *will* suppose some one of these motives), or a course of obedience to that law, though some individual senator might call it "massacre."

The following observations of Lord Palmerston are an excellent comment on the above clause :—

"When you are engaged with an enemy, until that enemy surrenders, until he asks for quarter and puts himself in your power, you continue hostilities ; and if you come up, you fire a broadside, whether with round shot or with grape ; but you continue your hostilities against the enemy with whom you are contending until he, by an act of his own, indicates that he surrenders and places himself in your power, and claims from you that forbearance which the laws of war, or in this case, if you please, the laws of the land, would entitle him to claim at your hands."

When I shall have added on this point the valuable testimony of Sir Thomas Cochrane, which entirely accords with all that I have seen myself, I think I may close my observations on the question of "undue severity."

"With regard" says that distinguished officer, "to the loss of life that attended the late attacks upon this people, it is proper I should acquaint your Lordship that it is impossible to give, and hopeless to expect quarter, when in action, from this singular people. They have such an extraordinary contempt for life, one would almost suppose they imagined that, on the loss of one, another would supply his place. A Malay, when irritated, would *kreesse*

a roomful of people, although under the certain knowledge that he would immediately fall himself ; indeed, he would have no hesitation in concluding the tragedy by self-immolation. A fatal confidence in their possessing the feelings of ordinary men led to a catastrophe on board one of the ships under my command, by which some valuable lives were lost."

And these instructive observations on the peculiarities of the people are accompanied with the following peculiarities of their "murderer."

"I found him one of the most mild, considerate and single-minded men I ever met with ; and one who, in every conversation I had with him on the subject of Borneo, expressed himself in the terms of a father and friend to that people ; and I had ample opportunity of witnessing how entirely they responded to that feeling. It was singular and striking that on parts of the coast where I am certain that no European had been previously seen, almost the first word pronounced by the people was the name of Brooke."

Such being the general character of the man, and his every act during the expedition in question having been in perfect keeping with that general character—I will just add to those already recorded in their proper place one other proof from parliamentary documents, and then Mr. Hume and myself shall part company.

In a note addressed by Lord Palmerston to Sir James Brooke, bearing date the 10th March, 1850, his Lordship

requests to be informed of "the circumstances which led to the offer of rewards for the capture of Dyak women and children." The following is the reply of "murderer" Brooke :—

"I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that for several years past rewards have been given for all prisoners made during the expeditions against the pirates, more especially in the case of women and children. The rewards alluded to in my despatch of the 1st of October, 1849, were paid to the captors of women and children taken during the expedition under Captain Farquhar, in order to prevent their putting captives to death, or reducing them to slavery. The women and children in question remained under my care for about two months, and were released on their relations coming to Sarāwak to claim them.

"This mode of dealing with pirates has always been found to have a beneficial effect, and is calculated to introduce a humane system of warfare."

I know not how charges such as I have been dealing with can be more satisfactorily rebutted. Begin at whichever end we may, we are led without one defective step in the argument—that I can perceive—to the same conclusion. We see treaties entered into by Her Majesty's Government,—functionaries instructed to carry them out,—the precise means of doing so pointed out to them,—alternatives suggested—the milder recommended, but the stronger enjoined rather than longer toleration

of such an universal scourge as piracy. We see these last-mentioned means (the coercive) adopted only upon imperative necessity ; we see officers *then* performing *their* part merely as they were bound to do both by their special orders, and by the articles of war ; we see that, where they did exercise a discretion, it was on the side of mercy and forbearance, and to the sparing of many hundreds of lives, which they might easily and *profitably* have sacrificed. What part then of the charge is there remaining un rebutted ?

I have endeavoured, I hope successfully, to state this question, and to support my view of it, in a dispassionate and candid spirit, avoiding all flights of fancy, even, it may be, to an extreme of dulness. I can scarcely doubt my success so far that, if any of my readers shall have halted between two opinions, simply from want of information as to *facts*, *they* will now be enabled to perceive that never—since Governments existed, with superiors to judge and to direct, with subordinates to obey and *not* to *judge*,—never has a more unreasonable attack been made upon men doing their duty, than Mr. Hume's attack on the honourable and gallant men, civil and military, whose duty it has been to act against the Serebas and Sakarran pirates.

The particular individuals, whom the honourable member for Montrose, by holding them up as abettors of oppression and massacre, invites his country and the civilised world to execrate, are, as I have already observed, Admirals

Cochrane and Collier ; Captains Farquhar and Wallage ; Sir James Brooke, and myself ; nor do I see how those noble Lords can escape who, as the heads of the Foreign and Colonial offices, approved of what was done against these pirates, and even gave instructions what *should* be done.

This is also suggested by Mr. Hume himself. “ Sir James Brooke,” he says, “ has, in his extraordinary acts, been associated with parties far more influential in Parliament than himself ; and he ought not to deceive himself in the belief that the attempt to *screen these* parties is an acquittal of him.” It is a grave charge to bring against that high tribunal. Is the whole House of Commons degraded, whenever it cannot see with one man’s eyes ? Some single member *might* vote to screen a friend : some half-dozen—nay some nineteen—might by possibility unite either to screen or to persecute : but when *two hundred and thirty* such persons, comprising the high-minded, the intellectual, the wise, and the good, are seen dividing *against* nineteen, we may be sure that such would no more screen a delinquent than they would countenance a persecutor.

One disagreeable circumstance to Sir James Brooke, arising from their discussions,—perhaps the most so—is that, in defending him against charges from which he never shrunk, his friends have unavoidably to hold him up as an object of praise, from which he does shrink with the sensitiveness of real merit. Indeed I feel that

apology is rather due to him than to my readers for the measure in which I have allowed *myself* an indulgence which, as a matter of feeling, is rather at his expense than for *his* gratification. I find myself, however, in good company ; and I will conclude the more personal part of this volume in the language of an individual never suspected, except by Mr. Hume, of giving an unconscientious vote, to "screen" either a political or a moral reprobate.

"The question at issue," says Sir ROBERT INGLIS, "is the character of one of the ablest, and most gallant, and most humane men, who ever exercised authority in the name of England in any part of the world ; and I feel it to be an honour to express my strong feeling in favour of such a man. I repeat that there never has appeared in the dependencies of England, in a distant part of the globe, one who did more honour to the name of England than the Rajah of Sarāwak, Sir JAMES BROOKE ; and I am sure any one might feel it a privilege to call himself a friend of that distinguished man."

In the exercise of a right, which both this privilege and my professional experience seemed to confer on me, I have made this long digression, as an, humble elucidator of the truth, and vindicator of one whom only truth would satisfy. Should I have failed, I am not the less convinced that, though the advocate be weak, the cause is strong, and will prevail. I can with sincerity disclaim all intentional offensiveness. Public speeches, public letters, public documents have been, according to my

perception and ability, fairly examined with reference to the *merits* of the case. Nothing new *could* be advanced; but I am not aware that the old story has ever yet been put into this tangible and systematic shape. May it tend to confirm, and to universalise the confident verdict of that more distinguished defender of my friend and of the truth, Lord PALMERSTON :—

“ Sir James Brooke retires from this investigation with an untarnished character, and with unblemished honour: and I am persuaded that he will continue to enjoy the esteem of his countrymen, as a man who, by braving difficulties, by facing dangers in distant climates, and in previously unknown lands, has done much to promote the commercial interests of his country, and to diffuse the light of civilisation in regions, which had been before in the darkness of barbarism.”

CHAPTER XIV.

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GENERAL REMARKS ON PIRACY—ITS ORIGIN, SOURCES OF GROWTH, AND DEVELOPEMENT
—MEANS OF SUPPRESSION AND PREVENTION—ANCIENT AND MODERN PIRACY
SIMILAR IN ALL RESPECTS—ENGLAND'S DUTY AS TO THE POLICE OF THE EASTERN
SEAS—SARAWAK—NEW FACTS—OLD ARGUMENTS.

UP to this point, our observations on the subjects of piracy have been confined to the question of its existence in one or two particular rivers of Borneo, and to the inquiry whether the inhabitants of those rivers are different by nature, by education, or by habit, from all the other Malays and Dyaks in the world ; whether, in short, as it has been excellently asked by one able writer—and really the whole matter resolves itself into this—“ whether the banks of the Serebas and Sakarran are a modern Arcadia, or a Moravian settlement,—whether their fleets are a mere Yacht Club, and their expeditions regattas.” I have given *my* answer to this question ; and now, in my few additional remarks, I shall treat the subject more comprehensively, as one of immeasurable interest to the world at large. This is no exaggeration, in an age which is

one of political, social, commercial, and religious progress. It is indeed time that the navies of the Christian world should earnestly cooperate, shaking off indifference, sacrificing jealousies, until they shall have swept from every part of the highway of nations an evil, which is at once the impediment to civilisation and its reproach.

In the Dutch Report, to which I have more than once referred, England is charged with "reiterating protestations that she will faithfully execute the treaty of London, but—by her 'authorities at Sincapore'—drawing back when it is proposed to act simultaneously." However this may have been, every European nation must feel that this is not an era, at which the common school-book of geography should have nothing more to say of the vast expanse comprised in the Indian Archipelago, than that it is "a world of piratical outrage and commercial peril." Neither is it an age in which the poet should find only a revolting paradox, where nature has been lavish of the sublime and beautiful—

"Glide we through Magellan's Straits,
Where two Oceans ope their gates—
What a spectacle awaits !

See—the vast Pacific smiles
Round ten thousand little isles,
Haunts of violence and wiles !"

Nor, lastly, is it an age, in which a mere casual visitor, like myself, to our great oriental emporium, Sincapore, should be able to testify that he has many a time stood

on the landing-place, and seen the wounded survivors of some trading-vessel's crew borne away to the hospital,—miserable illustrations of pirate barbarity, and—we *must* therefore add—of civilised indifference ! How else could these things be ?

“It is known,” says the Dutch Resident at Riow—“the English themselves acknowledge it—that a vast number of these robbers find an asylum at Singapore itself, as well as in the neighbourhood. Singapore and Riow are both surrounded by pirates, and the very scum of the neighbouring populations. At the same time piracies are more deplorable and more frequent at Singapore than at Riow. The pirates of these latitudes obtain their powder and ball secretly from Singapore, and the booty captured is taken there privately, and sold at low prices, or exchanged for ammunition.”

If this be not a libel on our respectable settlement, it is surely a grave charge against ourselves. We have however lately made a beginning, and with results highly promising.

It is quite possible that severe examples may still occasionally be unavoidable, before so widely spread a system can be wholly disorganised : but the history of piracy from the earliest ages, as well as the most recent experience, warrants the assurance that, with the exercise of unremitting *vigilance*, severity would very soon be unheard of, from lack of subjects.

I have alluded to the early history of piracy. A

retrospective glance at it will not be without its use, as illustrating the following propositions :—

1. That piracy has always had a similar origin.
2. That it has always grown and flourished under similar circumstances.
3. That it has always required similar measures for its suppression ; and
4. Similar appliances for its permanent prevention.

Its *origin* has been OPPORTUNITY ; temptation in that shape, acting irresistibly on the natural depravity of man.

It has grown and flourished—first by impunity, or toleration, due to its early insignificance : then by acquiring a gradual, and at length a very tenacious hold upon the passions and the interests, not only of its original followers, but also of the very people who alone could check it.

It has been *suppressed*—*never*, save by the most RIGOROUS MEASURES.

It has been *permanently* extinguished by a combination *with* severity of humanising and profitable pursuits, as SUBSTITUTES.

1. Piracy, thus reviewed, beckons us back, even into the abyss of ages.

“ Giant visions, crowding fast,
Rise in the moonlight of the shadowy past,
Where, through the mists of time, a silent throng,
The ghosts of mighty empires glide along.”

Among the ghosts are those of mighty PIRATE EMPIRES,—for they were nothing less,—seriously embarrassing, even for a time overawing, the Asiatic, the

Grecian, and the Roman *Governments*. And yet, without doubt, every formidable horde, which could at length spoil a principality or starve a nation, sprung from a single knave or a handful of knaves, conceiving the idea, that to rob a boat might be as profitable as to rob a house. Nature moulds the thief; opportunity and position make him a water-thief; the success of one invites the association of others; till at length the individual villain becomes the founder of a villanous community, of whom each encourages the other in the path of daring, of avarice, and of cruelty.

“Then forth they rush as with the torrent’s sweep,
And deeds are done which make the angels weep.”

In the intricacies of an ARCHIPELAGO especially, this has ever been the *natural* state of things. As surely as spiders abound where there are nooks and corners, so have pirates sprung up wherever there is a nest of islands, offering creeks and shallows, headlands, rocks, and reefs, —*facilities*, in short, for lurking, for surprise, for attack, for escape. The barbarous or semi-barbarous inhabitant of the Archipelago, born and bred in this position, is born and bred a thief. It is as natural to him to consider any well-freighted, ill-protected trading-prahu his property, as it is to the fishing eagle above his head to sweep down upon the weaker but more hard-working bird, and swallow what he has not had the trouble of catching.

But the *primitive incentives* to piracy are soon lost sight of in the *pleasurable excitement* which attaches to a

piratical life; and its primitive *limits* soon disappear in the numbers who are *attracted* to it, for the sake of sharing in its chances and its perils. The pirate is a *gambler* in several ways: he goes out under obligations for his equipment to some petty Prince or Chief; these obligations he can only procure the means of cancelling by desperate deeds. Speculation thus becomes his habit; and his life becomes the reckless life of a desperado,—not to supply the necessities of legitimate poverty, but to feed artificial and self-created requirements.

“At the end of the ‘monsoons,’” says Captain Kloff, “the pirates betake themselves to their haunts, and are occupied in dividing the spoils of the season. Then also they indemnify their avaricious accomplices for the advances they have made them, whether in stores or provisions. This period is to them a time of rejoicing; the day is passed in cock-fighting, the night in smoking opium: so that at the end of two or three days this booty, obtained with so much trouble, is dissipated, and they have to plan new acts of piracy.”

2. Here, then, is exposed *one* great element of *growth* in this evil, and indeed the chief source of its prosperity, and the chief obstacle to its suppression. Hatched, as it were, through neglect in not destroying the egg,—imperceptibly attaining strength until it becomes formidable to slay,—the reptile is at last *taken in hand* by the wise charmer, and turned to profit. Piracy is mainly fostered by the princes, the nobles, the chiefs, the petty sovereigns, who

have a deep interest in its maintenance. This system of connivance, amounting to partnership with the marauder, seems to have long furnished a plausible ground for treaties between the Dutch Government, and the various Sultans and Princes of the Archipelago. Signs of a selfish commercial policy are generally discernible in these documents : but on this we need not dwell. If, however, we bear in mind the simple fact that these Sultans and Princes are themselves no better than pirates, we may appreciate the advantage, or rather perceive the absolute necessity, of having some one to deal with them, in the furtherance of our plans for the suppression of piracy, who shall understand their character : indeed, the qualifications requisite for negotiating with, and acquiring an influence over, treacherous chiefs and savage people are neither few nor of a common kind ; and hence I think it is easier to raise theoretical objections against “ incompatible offices,” “ conflicting duties,” &c., than to find any other man half so well qualified as the *present* Commissioner to represent the interests of humanity with the independent chiefs of Borneo. The personal qualifications *and* the peculiar position of Sir James Brooke, as Rajah of Sarāwak, cannot be *combined* in any other person ; while they remarkably fit *him* for a sphere of action in which an influence beneficial to millions may be exercised.

One—indeed the principal—task imposed upon the person in this position, is to shut up against the established, piratical communities of the Archipelago an iniquitous

source of gain, and to divert their commerce into legitimate and peaceful channels. This alone is no light matter.

Piracy is, even in its mildest character, a *most* iniquitous source of gain ; but its abominations are aggravated, and have always been so, by the fact that the most profitable portion of the pirate's traffic is a trade in *slaves*. It is needless to observe upon the cruelties and horrors thus superadded to mere spoliation. It is well known what a bad eminence was attained by ancient Crete and Cilicia in this revolting commerce. They verified the remark before made, that it is opportunity and temptation which call into exercise this, as they do all other evil passions. By the conquests of Alexander a great opening was established for commercial intercourse between Greece and the countries westward on the one part, and Phoenicia and Egypt on the other : the positions of Crete and Cilicia, so favourable for intercepting merchant-vessels, converted gradually into pirates the entire coast-population of those countries ; independently of merchandise, the crews alone of captured ships were very valuable for sale in the slave markets. But the Cilicians, having once tasted blood, were not long content with a precarious supply from passing vessels : like their modern brethren, they would also land on any unprotected coast, and thence carry off men, women, and children, of whom the greater number found their way to Rome. For the supply of that luxurious city, ten

thousand slaves were often bought and sold on the same day—seized and transported from their homes by pirates : and it is worth noticing, that the mistress of the world had at length to send forth her greatest generals to *put down* a power which she had fostered for her own luxury, at the expense of principle and humanity.

Thus does the ancient historian continually “point a moral, or adorn a tale” for modern times. The Serebas and Sakarrans, the Lanuns, and other such communities of the present day, represent, as completely as differences of position enable them to do, their predecessors of the *Ægean* ; and it has been hitherto our reproach that those latitudes in which England’s should be the antagonistic influence, have furnished to *these* pirate-communities *their* “Golden Sea.”*

But there has always been one other incentive to piracy, which, with some characters, is as potent as gold itself ; and that is the *honour* and distinction to which it leads. Honour among thieves is honour still ; and the daring and successful leader of a piratical attack upon a merchant-fleet, or a town worth pillaging, rises to an estimation among his fellows, which acts as a powerful stimulus to fresh adventures. “Because I have only a single ship,” said one of this profession to Alexander, “you call me a *pirate* ; if I had a fleet I should be a *hero*.” This was a good piece of sarcasm ; and it is certain at least that the

* This was the name given by the pirates of the *Ægean*, to the sea between Crete and Cyrene, and between the Piræus and the promontory of Malia—now Cape Malio—on account of the rich prizes which they met with there.

chiefs of piratical communities soon consider *themselves* heroes, and are honoured as such amongst each other. While then this is the case, there will always be a few audacious spirits, mainsprings of each distinct machine,—characters such as Byron and Cooper have invested with a false romance ;—and these are they on whom a moral, as well as an external, influence may be well exercised : there is often something really noble in their natures, giving hope that the highest principles of action and of forbearance may be implanted in their minds ; that they may be brought not merely to “cease to do evil,” but to “learn to do well,” and may become the little leaven that shall leaven the whole lump for good.

Such then are the elements of *growth and prosperity*, which have been common to piracy in every age.

3. And now for its REMEDIES. The same disease requires the same medicine—just varied in its mode of administration, to suit the particular subject.

“Piracy,” says the historian of Greece, “familiar and flourishing in the Ægean sea, from earliest history to the present day, patronised by sovereign power, by republics not less than by single tyrants, has never been *completely suppressed*, unless in short periods of UNCOMMON VIGOUR AND VIGILANCE, under the administration of the Roman power.”

We may pass over the failures, some total, some partial, which were experienced, even by the Roman arms, whenever *half measures* were resorted to against this formidable scourge. They defeated Muræna, they allowed

only an expensive victory to Servilius ; they utterly discomfited Mark Antony, who, taking with him, through contempt of the enemy, more chains than arms, saw his own crews return to Crete in his own vessels, loaded as prisoners with his own chains. Metellus followed him, with but questionable success.

The subjugation of piracy was reserved for POMPEY ; and high time was it to demolish a monument of misplaced tolerance, which had reached the pitch thus described by his biographer :—

“ The power of the pirates was arrived to such a height, that they had above a thousand good ships, well manned, and furnished with skilful pilots. They affected magnificence, and their ships glittered with gold and silver ; their oars were silvered over ; and the curtains of the cabins were of purple. If they went on shore, it was to feast themselves in the most sumptuous and costly manner ; and these entertainments were accompanied with concerts of music ; their insolence and depredations had risen to an excess beyond all imagination. They had taken above four hundred cities, and had plundered thirteen of the most famous temples in the world of all their riches : but their principal employment and delight was to insult the Romans, and humble the pride of Italy.* They

* When any one who was taken by them declared himself a Roman, they pretended to be frightened and to tremble ; and when they had a long while made him their sport, they placed a ladder on the side of their ship next the water, intimating to their prisoner that he was now at full liberty to leave the vessel, and go whithersoever he pleased ; and upon his declining the favour, they threw him overboard.

landed there, infested the main roads, and rifled the country-houses that were not far from the sea. But of all the mischiefs done by the pirates, that which occasioned most complaints at Rome was the scarcity and dearness of provisions,—a matter that always greatly affects the people. The multitude, therefore, were overjoyed at the proposal made by Gabinius to commission Pompey to clear the seas of those vermin.”

These references to history supply the strongest of all arguments—namely, *facts*, to show, first—that on the same character of soil the same crop will always grow ; and secondly, that it must be eradicated by the same means. I shall presently have occasion to quote from an able Oriental periodical, which, at the present day, specifies the *enhanced cost of all produce* as an argument for the suppression of piracy ; and doubtless when the evil shall be appreciated in modern times, as the great POMPEY appreciated it, we may hope to see his sequel paralleled, and the Indian sea disembarrassed, as was the Ægean. Forty days sufficed for the great Roman to deliver from the monster PIRACY the three granaries of Rome,—Sicily, Sardinia, and the coasts of Africa ; so that what the poet elegantly boasts for him is no more than true.

“ Qui cum signa tuli toto fulgentia ponto,
Ante bis exactum quàm Cynthia conderet orbem,
Omne fretum metuens pelagi pirata reliquit,
Angustâque domum terrarum in sede poposcit.”

Ere the full orb of CYNTHIA'S pallid light,
Twice show'd the Ocean with our standards bright,
The trembling pirate, scar'd from every sea,
Crouch'd for one narrow hiding-place to me.

Twenty thousand prisoners attested the vigour of the Roman commander's measures and their success. He pursued them home to every lurking place, gave them battle wherever they collected, besieged them wherever they took refuge : in short, his mission was to suppress, and he did not stop short of it. To those who take a real interest in the subject of these chapters, it will be manifest that these early records may be as usefully studied as any other parts of history. Many more such references might be made. Other European seas—the seas of the West Indies—of the East—of China—all might furnish illustrations of the position I have laid down, as to the origin, the source of growth, and of prosperity, and finally, the mode of suppressing piracy. We have just dwelt for a moment on the *most* remarkable example which exists : and the only attempts on our own part which have met with even a temporary success have been such as were, in a *very* small way, imitative of the uncompromising POMPEY. But Mr. Hume would no doubt have moved for an inquiry into the massacre of the Cretans and Cilicians.

4. I have but a word to say upon my remaining proposition, which was this—that, as piracy never has been and I think never will be put down, except by uncompromising DECISION, so its revival in the same localities can only be prevented by *humanising and profitable pursuits, as substitutes.*

Herein we have an advantage over the Roman subjugator, inasmuch as Christianity, commerce, manufacture,

agriculture, art, science, furnish in those days reasons and suggestions such as had not yet dawned on Rome : nor can I help pointing to SARAWAK as an example and an encouragement to the philanthropist, who would re-mould and humanise the barbarian. Of what has been there effected I shall say more hereafter ; but even the *Roman* example does not entirely fail us here. "Pompey," says his biographer, "had in this expedition taken about 20,000 prisoners, and the question was how to dispose of them. He could not entertain the thought of putting them to death ; and on the other hand, it was not safe to leave it in their power to renew the late mischiefs. He reflected that man is neither brutal nor unsociable ; that violence is a view contrary to his nature, and may be changed by a change of *habitation* and *manner of living*, as even the fiercest of wild beasts are, by such methods, made tame. He resolved therefore to remove his prisoners far from the sea-coast into the inland parts, and there disperse them. He settled many in certain cities of Cilicia, which were almost deserted ; and especially in Soli which had been lately ruined by Tigranes. It was afterwards called Pompeiopolis, from the name of its restorer. He likewise transplanted a considerable number of them into Achaia, and even into Italy." In short he placed them *beyond temptation*. I have in a preceding chapter referred to similar measures adopted by the Dutch in a few instances.*

* CÆSAR crucified the pirates he took, but without suppressing piracy.

It does not enter into my present task to discuss what *precise* measures, as lasting preventives, might be most effectually adopted in the Eastern Archipelago, after piracy shall have been put down. Christianity and civilisation must, of course sooner or later, take the highest places : but whether they can always lead, or must sometimes condescend to follow in the train of more immediately practical ancillaries, must depend on the characteristics of each country ;—for the national reformer must be a man of enlarged views, of personal character (in which respect at least I may be proud of my friend Sir James Brooke)—of judgment, patience, decision, courage, penetration ; I might have expressed it more briefly and better by saying that he must have the “wisdom which is from above.” But I refrain from these speculations, though not uninteresting, as well as from offering any suggestions of detail as to the best working means of *putting down* the calamity of the Archipelago : that means comparatively simple and inexpensive would succeed I feel convinced. I will now lay before the reader some well digested remarks on this subject, which appeared not long since in an ably conducted Singapore periodical.

The primary subject of its writer is the promotion of what are called “amoks,” to an instance of which singular oriental rage Sir Thomas Cochrane seems to refer in his letter, quoted in the preceding chapter. “The Malay tendency to run amok, or a-muck, as we commonly call it, is never likely to leave him,” argues the writer to whom

I refer, "so long as his practice is to go always armed : but until *piracy be suppressed*, he *must* go armed." The intelligent writer then proceeds to discuss this question in all its bearings. By way of a preliminary note I should have explained that the process of running amok, or a-muck, consists simply in a man's rushing about killing or wounding all within his reach, and at length frequently himself.

* * * * *

"The first step, towards the prevention of amoks is the suppression, as far as is practicable, of robbery on land, and piracy at sea, to be followed by the abolition of the habit of private persons wearing weapons. While a Malay of Singapore cannot set out on a voyage to the back of the island, to Johore or to Siak, without risk of being robbed and killed, he cannot go unarmed ; and until he ceases to carry arms, and learns to trust for protection and vengeance to the Government under which he lives, there can be no security that, if subjected to misfortune, insult, or oppression, he will not run amok.

"The cost of the produce supplied by the Malays is so greatly enhanced by the necessity of protecting themselves on their voyages, that the employment of additional force by Government for the suppression of piracy, and the adopting of measures in concert with the native authorities, would soon shew a direct action on trade. Piracy raises the cost of all native produce brought to Singapore ; it gives the bold a monopoly of carriage ; and obliges

them to go in larger numbers, and with a more expensive equipment than would otherwise be necessary.

“ Experience has shewn that the Malay chiefs of the Peninsula are quite willing to co-operate in the abolition of piracy ; but they require to be constantly pushed, directed and encouraged. It is only by engaging all the powers in the western part of the Archipelago to act in concert that effectual measures can be taken. The pirates must be tracked by a combination of information and action, until they find they can no longer carry with them the privacy, which at present renders their visits more unexpected than a thunder-storm, and which prevents the chain of their operations from being detected.

“ What is wanted is that Government be made practically conversant with the nature and operation of the evil, and with the necessity for a combination of *all* the governments exercising power in the Archipelago, to suppress this enormous crime. When they have made up their minds to this, there will be no difficulty in finding agents to procure the combination, and to organise and direct its power.

“ It may be said that the position of Great Britain in the Archipelago is not such as to require or even admit of her taking a part in any work of such wide extent. We assert that her position is such as to place her under the most positive and solemn obligation to undertake this work, to enable her to give the most effectual co-operation in it, and to render that co-operation indispensable. The police of every sea belongs to those nations whose vessels

traverse it, and who from their proximity to it have the power of organising a police. We may lay down the proposition still more broadly, by saying that every nation whose vessels use a sea are charged to aid in its police, in proportion to their means, and the advantages they derive from its use. The obligation to exertion increases with the means, and the means increase with proximity to the sea. It increases also with the advantages enjoyed, although this increase may be counterbalanced by the increase of difficulties arising from distance of position. Now, England derives more benefit from the use of the seas of the Archipelago than any other nation ; the proximity of her territories to the field of action is as great as those of Holland and Spain, her means of action far superior to those of the latter, and, in some respects, even to those of the former. Her obligations therefore to destroy the marauders who infest these seas are paramount. Is she justified in waiting till she is satisfied that other powers have performed their duty ? On the contrary, that superiority in intelligence, liberality, energy, and power, which Providence has conferred upon her, demand that in this work she shall take the lead ; not intermitting her strongest endeavours to excite her neighbours to do *their* duty, but going about her own in an earnest and determined manner, whether they prove zealous, lukewarm, or hostile.

“ But England has certain peculiar advantages for the work. The Malay Peninsula is entirely under her

control. She has bound over the Dutch not to meddle with it. Now the peninsular side of the Straits of Malacca is the only navigable one, so that this exclusion has also given her the control of the Straits. There is not a Malay chief on either side of the long coast of the Peninsula, who would not comply with every reasonable request of the English Government, and much more ; and there is not one of their chiefs who does not at present, directly or indirectly, contribute to the maintenance of the slave-trade and piracy. By cutting off this source of support, one considerable blow would be struck. Our position on the north of Borneo enables us to take still more decisive measures, in cutting off from Bornean and Soloo pirates the support and countenance of the Soloo chiefs.

“The chiefs and communities, which are themselves piratical, must be compelled to be so no more ; that is to say, they must be visited pacifically, the determination of England communicated, and its reasons explained to them, her friendship and countenance offered, an obligation taken to abandon piracy,—and that obligation must thenceforth be enforced, at whatever cost, and any severity that may be necessary. Subsequent carelessness and lenity would be cruelty to the piratical communities themselves. Piracy is doubtless less reprehensible morally in those who have never been taught to look upon it as a crime, but that is no reason why every severity *necessary* for its extirpation should not be resorted to. A tiger is

even less reprehensible in this point of view than a professional pirate "to the manner born." But we must do what is necessary to prevent injury to others from piratical habits, before we can indulge in compassion for the pirate. Our sympathy must be first with the victims and the endangered ; with the murdered before the murderer, the slave before the slave-dealer."

These observations are worthy to close my chapter on PIRACY. They should do so, but that I cannot resist adding a word—not my own either—for each of the two different classes, who have argued, and who may again be called upon to argue the question of *severity*—how far it is justifiable—advisable—salutary in effect. I have a few facts for the one class, and a few observations from no mean reasoner for the other.

In a letter just received by me, from my friend Captain Brooke, nephew of Sir James, dated 25th August, 1852, is the following passage :—" I wish you were here to command our expedition about to start for Serebas and Sakarran, though the object this time is peace, not war. The *Contest* is just come in from Labuan, and Captain Spencer, I believe, intends accompanying us, and manning our gun-boats with blue-jackets ; this will be very pleasant, and will give us an opportunity of trying the rate of our new gun-boat,—the first attempt at European ship-building in Sarāwak. If you should come out again, you will find, I think, considerable changes in Borneo ; Sarāwak is decidedly steadily advancing. The whole coast, from

having been one incessant scene of bloodshed, is now as safe as the British Channel ; as an instance of which, let me tell you that about three weeks ago a schooner from Singapore was capsised at night in a squall, about forty miles to seaward of Tanjong Sirik. Out of ninety-two passengers, only twelve, including five Europeans, escaped in a leaky boat, without arms, food, or even decent clothing. They made the shore ; the natives received them, gave them clothes and food, and fitted out a large boat to bring them comfortably to Sarāwak : I need not tell you what their probable fate would have been, had they been thrown on this coast a few years ago. To the Rajah, to yourself, and Farquhar, these poor people owe their freedom, if not their lives."

Here is a recent fact, accidentally introduced into a private letter,—of which this subject is by no means the burden. Mr. Hume or any one else may see it. It gives proof of present sincerity, and hope of stability in those better feelings which began to be evinced even immediately after Captain Farquhar's expedition.

Of the piratical chiefs that came to Sarāwak to make their submission to the Rajah, several had never before seen Europeans. Friendly discussions took place, interesting stories and adventures were narrated. Thousands of natives, belonging to different powerful tribes and communities in Borneo, now look up to the Rajah of Sarāwak as the arbitrator of their wrongs and the dispenser of justice. Before this meeting, many tribes

that would have formed alliances with him dared not to do so, on account of their more powerful neighbours. Now all appeared to be of one opinion, and admitted the blessings that were likely to accrue from trade and friendly intercourse; and to mention one very remarkable change,—PEACE CONFERENCES between these very chiefs have since been held, on the very spot where the arrangements for the next piratical balla used to be discussed! No instance of any ill-will for injuries inflicted or received was heard of. None appeared to deny the justness of the severe lesson that had been inflicted: and instead of betraying any desire for revenge, which even more civilised people might have harboured for a time at least, all seemed to have merged every other feeling in one of respect for the Rajah of Sarāwak. Surely these facts justify the intermeddling, if such it is to be designated, which brought about so happy a revolution. They justify—nay, they *enjoin* the adoption of any further measures that shall ensure its continuance; they even would justify at any time another like chastisement of any community which should relapse to its evil ways, and attempt to disturb the newly established reign of peace.

But finally—in case there may be any reader still shaking his dubious head, “on principle”—I will call in aid a sound reasoner on principle, even my Lord Bacon, whose sentiments I have been surprised not to see referred to by any of the able debaters who have advocated the cause of truth and reason.

As touching non-intervention, the following remarks appear to me striking and satisfactory :—

“It is a great error, and a narrowness, or straitness of mind, if any man think that nations have nothing to do one with another, except there be either an union in sovereignty, or a conjunction in pacts or leagues. There are other bands of society and implicit confederations, above all there is the supreme and indissoluble consanguinity and society between men in general :* of which the heathen (whom the Apostle calls to witness) saith ‘we are all his generation.’ But much more we Christians, unto whom it is revealed in particularity that all men came from one lump of earth, and that two singular persons were the parents from whom all the generations of the world are descended,—we, I say, ought to acknowledge that no nations are wholly aliens and strangers the one to the other. Now if there be such a tacit league or confederation, sure it is not idle ; it is against somewhat, or somebody : who should they be ? Is it against wild beasts ? or the elements of fire and water ? No—it is against such routs and shoals of people, as have utterly degenerated from the laws of nature ; as have in their very body, and frame of estate, a monstrosity ; and may be truly accounted (according to the examples we have formerly recited) common enemies and grievances of mankind, or disgraces and reproaches to

* “ Sweet are the links that bind us to our kind,
Meek, but unyielding ; felt, but undefin’d.”

human nature. Such people all nations are interested, and ought to be resenting, to suppress."

And as touching war against pirates, and who may urge it, the following passage is not easily answerable :—

"It was never doubted, but a war upon pirates may be lawfully made by any nation, though not infested nor violated by them. Is it because they have not *certain sedes*, or *lares*? In the piratical war which was achieved by Pompey the great, and was his truest and greatest glory; the pirates had some cities, sundry ports, and a great part of the province of Cilicia; and the pirates now being have a receptacle and mansion in Algiers. Beasts are not the less savage because they have dens. Is it because the danger hovers as a cloud, that a man cannot tell where it will fall,—and so it is every man's case? The reason is good, but it is not all, nor that which is most alleged. For the true received reason is, that pirates are *communes humani generis hostes*; whom all nations are to prosecute, not so much in the right of their own fears, as upon the band of human society.

"For as there are formal and written leagues, respective to certain enemies; so is there a natural and tacit confederation amongst all men, against the common enemy of human society: so as there needs no intimation, nor denunciation of the war; there needs no request from the nation grieved; but all these formalities the *law of nature* supplies in the case of pirates. The same is the case of

rovers by land ; such as yet are some cantons in Arabia, and some petty kings of the mountains, adjacent to straits and ways. Neither is it lawful only for the neighbour princes to destroy such pirates, or rovers, but if there were *any nation never so far off*, that would make it *an enterprize of merit and true glory* (as the Romans that made a war for the liberty of Græcia from a distant and remote part), no doubt they might do it."

END OF VOL. I.

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A VISIT
TO THE
INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO,
IN H. M. SHIP MÆANDER.

WITH
PORTIONS OF THE PRIVATE JOURNAL OF SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.

BY
CAPT^N. THE HON. HENRY KEPPEL, R.N.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY OSWALD W. BRIERLEY.

"Where things familiar cease, and strange begin."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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I HAVE been holding forth now for several chapters, on the quarter-deck of the *Mæander*, while she was on her way from Labuan to Sincapore.

By the time she arrived off the Serebas, no traces were to be seen of the events which I have narrated.

On the 31st of August, 1849, we anchored off the coast of Borneo ; and, sending a gig to Sarāwak for information, we despatched the remaining boats, equipped for service, up the Batang Lupar, where they found the *Royalist* keeping guard at the mouth of the Linga, to

prevent any of the pirates getting up to the habitations of the Dyaks in that neighbourhood, during the absence of their warriors in attendance on the Rajah. From the *Royalist* we heard what had taken place, and that the Linga fleet had passed up on their way home rejoicing.

Captain Farquhar with the Rajah had been some days up the Rejang, and was daily expected back. Having supplied the *Royalist* with provisions, we proceeded on our way to Sincapore, not very well pleased at having arrived after the operations were over.

Before leaving the coast, I may as well give a short account of the then state of things at Sarāwak.

I have already referred to the reasons which first induced Sir James Brooke to accept the Rajahship ; it has been seen how he entered upon the organisation of a refractory or distressed population of about 8000 souls, taking to his assistance the leading rebel chiefs. Sarāwak or "Kuching," as it was then called, was a village. By internal war the bonds of society had been loosened ; the Dyaks driven into the jungle. Government was at an end ; rapine and crime of all kinds were of daily occurrence ;—trade was literally extinct.

After ten years, we find Sir James Brooke the most powerful Rajah in the Eastern Archipelago. The city of Sarāwak can no longer be seen at one view ; it has extended for miles, and now occupies several reaches of the river. The population exceeds forty-five thousand. A fort, formidable from its commanding position, a Protestant

church, and a Mahomedan mosque, are the principal objects which first attract the eye. As you advance up the river, after passing the suburbs containing the villa residences of the Europeans, you see the Court House, from which even-handed justice is dispensed without the interference of lawyers.

Higher still you come to large sheds, where numerous prahus are building for—at last—trading purposes only. Shops containing goods open to the inspection of the passer-by—a thing unknown in any other native state of the Archipelago—are here to be seen.

The missionary church of St. Thomas has since been consecrated by the Bishop of Calcutta, in 1850 ; and divine service is performed there twice a day, in English or Malay, by the missionaries—thanks to the exertions of that most indefatigable and zealous churchman, the Rev. Francis McDougall. This gentleman contrives, in addition to the active exercise of his sacred calling, to confer on the community the great benefit of his gratuitous services as a scientific surgeon.

The strict morality of his conduct, added to the above claims on their respect and gratitude, has impressed the natives with a veneration for him little inferior to that which they feel for the Rajah himself.

Attached to the church is a school, to the management of which Mrs. McDougall devotes her valuable time : it numbers already twenty-five Dyak and Chinese children.

I may here appropriately subjoin a letter written by the Bishop of Calcutta after his visit to Sarāwak ; we are not answerable for a Bishop's idea of " unexampled heroism ;" nor for other little slips of enthusiasm : on all important points it gives a picture as true as it is interesting to the Christian world. It is dated January 24, 1851 :—

" I have spent four days at Sarāwak. I have consecrated the church, according to the request of the diocesan, the Lord Bishop of London. I have inspected the state of the infant mission, and conferred fully with the indefatigable and zealous chaplain and missionary, the Rev. F. McDougall. I have conversed also with the gentry, and have read the several works published on the events which have occurred in the last few years. It is my full persuasion that there is *no mission on the face* of the earth to be compared with that of Borneo. It has been thrown open to Christian enterprise almost by miracle. One of the darkest recesses of heathen ignorance, cruelty, and desolation, where piracy, and murder, and conflagration, and head - hunting, stalked abroad in open day, and the aboriginal inhabitants were in the sure way of being exterminated utterly, is now, so to speak, *like the paradise of God*. Deliverance has been proclaimed—security of person and property, equal rights, an enlightened and paternal distributive justice, the arts of life, an extending commerce, are already established at Sarāwak, and spreading along the whole western coast of Borneo. The Chinese sea is free from marauders, and all Europe and America

may pursue their peaceful occupations from Singapore to Labuan, 700 miles. The Christian mission is begun, to sanctify and adorn all these secular blessings. Two things, quite unexampled, favour the design :—1st. Englishmen have first become known to the oppressed Dyaks by a single English gentleman of benevolence, talent, and singular wisdom, and tact of government, who has received, as a token of gratitude from the native princes, a tract of land, *about seventy miles by fifty*, as his own territory. To the benefit of the inhabitants of it, this gentleman, who is now recognised as the Rajah of Sarāwak, is devoting his time, his fortune, his zeal, his health, his body, and soul. The noble Government of our honoured and beloved Queen Victoria at home has come forward with her admirals and brave captains, to assist in reducing the pirates who infested the coast to silence and tranquillity, by deeds of almost unexampled heroism. The last engagement with the pirates, about a year and a half since, when 120 war boats, with 2,000 bandits, were intercepted in the very act of plundering and setting fire to villages, seizing native vessels, and murdering their crews, has humbled and alarmed the whole tribe, and the chiefs are *sending messages to Sarāwak*, promising to turn themselves to honest occupations. In the meantime, the population of the town has increased, in nine years, from 1,500 to 12,000 souls, and, including the whole territory, to 30,000. The peace thus established, like that of the Roman empire at the Incarnation of our Lord, prepares for the Gospel,

renders the diffusion of it practicable, and calls imperatively on the Christian Church at home to seize with eagerness the occasion, to which nothing parallel has perhaps ever occurred. The second peculiarly favourable circumstance is that the poor Dyaks have no religion of their own, scarcely a notion of a deity, no Mahomedan obstinacy, no Hindoo castes, no priesthood, no written book—no Koran, no Veda ; and are led by a strong feeling of gratitude for a deliverance from a worse than Egyptian bondage, to place unbounded confidence in the truth and disinterestedness of the Rajah, and to solicit instruction in his religion, and to follow the habits of the white people.

“ In truth, when I stood on the hill on which the church is erected, and viewed the subjacent town stretched on the river's bank, and viewed the mission-house and school on the College Hill, which crowned the opposite shore, I could not but break out into thanksgiving to the God of all grace for His wonderful works ; and during the solemn service of consecration, I looked with amazement at the neat wooden edifice, with its early English arches, its nave, 70 feet by 22, and 25 high, its side aisles, its handsome communion-plate placed on the holy table, and its Christian congregation—forty-three (of whom eleven were Dyak and Chinese school children, seated in the aisle), and when I assisted in administering the blessed supper to nineteen communicants, besides the clergy, my heart was almost too full to proceed. Will England, then, fail to support the work thus prosperously begun ? Impossible ! it is not in the manners

of our Christian Britain to forget she was herself, 1400 years ago, in as low a state of barbarism as the Dyaks, infested with *European pirates*, as they with *Asiatics*. No, she is well aware that what the Gospel has done for England it can do for Borneo.

“D. CALCUTTA.”

I believe that every reader of good taste will thank me for reminding him of the following beautiful lines, so applicable to the chief subject of the above letter, and to its venerable and eminently Christian writer :—

“ With furrow'd brow, and cheek serenely fair,
 The calm wind wand'ring o'er his silver hair,
 His arm uplifted, and his moisten'd eye
 Fix'd in deep rapture on the golden sky,
 Upon the shore, through many a billow driven,
 He kneels at last, the Messenger of Heaven !
 Long years, that rank the mighty with the weak,
 Have dimm'd the flush upon his faded cheek,
 And many a dew, and many a noxious damp,
 The daily labour, and the nightly lamp,
 Have snatch'd away, for ever snatch'd from him,
 The liquid accent and the buoyant limb ;
 Yet still within him aspirations swell,
 Which time corrupts not, sorrow cannot quell :
 The changeless ZEAL, which on, from land to land,
 Speeds the faint foot, and nerves the wither'd hand,
 And the mild CHARITY, which, day by day,
 Weeps ev'ry wound and ev'ry stain away,
 Rears the young bud on ev'ry blighted stem,
 And longs to comfort, where she must condemn.
 With these, through storms, and bitterness, and wrath,
 In peace and pow'r he holds his onward path,
 Curbs the fierce soul, and sheathes the murd'rous steel,
 And calms the passions he hath ceas'd to feel.
 “ Yes ! he hath triumph'd !—while his lips relate
 The sacred story of his SAVIOUR's fate,
 While to the search of that tumultuous horde
 He opens wide the EVERLASTING WORD,

And bids the soul drink deep of wisdom there,
 In fond devotion, and in fervent pray'r—
 In speechless awe the wonder-stricken throng
 Check their rude feasting and their barb'rous song :
 Around his steps the gathering myriads crowd,
 The chief, the slave, the timid and the proud ;
 Of various features, and of various dress,
 Like their own forest-leaves, confus'd and numberless.

“ Where shall *your* temples, where *your* worship be,
 Gods of the air, and Rulers of the sea ?
 In the glad dawning of a kinder light,
 Your blind adorer quits your gloomy rite,
 And kneels in gladness on his native plain,
 A happier votary at a holier fane.”

An hospital, erected at the Rajah's expense, has likewise been established, under the superintendence of Mr. McDougall.

In the jungle, a family of Malays are no longer under the necessity of following one another in a line, the last child of a string not being within hail of its leading parent ; but they may now walk and converse together along good roads, and may, if they please, communicate with different parts of the town otherwise than by boats. So strong, however, is the effect of habit, that I cannot recollect ever to have met, even along the excellent roads of Singapore, a party of Malays who were not following one another in single file, as carefully as if threading their way along a narrow jungle path.

The Court-house is not distinguished for its architectural beauty ; and the Court itself is held on the ground-floor of a building, the upper apartments of which are used as offices for the conduct of the public business. Nothing can be simpler than the ordinary proceedings of justice.

Lounging into the Court during the progress of an interesting trial, I was struck at the same time by the absence of ceremony, and the great interest exhibited by the spectators. Opposite to the entrance was placed a round table, at the further part of which were seated, first the Rajah, and on either side of him the individuals native and European, six or eight in number, whom—for want of an exactly appropriate designation—I may call the judges ; and they may be said to constitute the jury likewise. In front of this table, seated on a mat-covered floor, was the prisoner ; and on one side was a witness giving his evidence. Around the whole Court were benches, on which Malays, Dyaks, Chinese, were seated indiscriminately ; and those who could find no place on the raised seats were content to listen cross-legged on the floor, or to stand at the large open windows of the verandah surrounding the building. I was honoured with a seat amongst the judges, but understood little or nothing of the proceedings, which were conducted in the Malayan language.

One judge or another examined witness after witness, each of whom was introduced by my old acquaintance Subu, who has been long a faithful follower of the Rajah, and now fills several places of minor importance about the Court,—among the rest that of public executioner, which, however, is almost a sinecure.

The case for the prosecution having closed, the prisoner, an interesting-looking young Malay, was called upon for his defence. He told his story in a quiet but not inanimate

way ; called his witnesses ; and one or two of his friends in the Court pleaded for him on particular points. When this had lasted nearly an hour, there was a consultation amongst the judges ; and my old friend Patingue Gapour (one of the judges) read a long argument to the Court. He was followed by the Bandar (another judge) who made a few remarks ; then, after an observation or two from the other judges, the Rajah summed up, and pronounced the acquittal of the prisoner, whom I understood to have been tried for being found in another man's dwelling-house at night. The trial having been concluded, a general conversation ensued ; and the Court broke up with the same absence of ceremony as had marked its assembling.

The proceedings exhibited a quiet decorum, and owed none of their dignity to outward ostentation, either in respect of dress or otherwise.

It may not be uninteresting to my readers, if I introduce a few cases extracted from the Court Records kept on the spot.

STEALING BEE-HIVES.

“ Quop Dyaks v. Bombak Dyaks.”

“ The Orang Kaya of the Quop complains of the Bombak Dyaks for stealing his bee-hives from the Tappang trees.

“ Judgment for the complainants.

“ The Bombak Dyaks to pay thirty cutties of wax, or thirty passes of padi.”

N.B. When about to take the wax from the trees, the Dyak, before climbing up, lights a fire, which attracts the bees. The Dyak says the bees mistake the fire for gold, and come down to possess themselves of the treasure.

RIGHT TO TREES.

“Dispute between the people of Samarahan and the Dyaks of Sibuyow about the right to certain Tappang Trees in Samarahan.”

“It appears that the Dyaks of Sibuyow settled in the Samarahan River several generations ago ; and both parties have since been in the habit of taking the comb from the trees. At first each party collected what they could, without jealousy or disputes ; but at length arose a competition between them, and each endeavoured to get the lion’s share either by stealth or force.

“During the prevalence of bad government, neither party cared much for the Tappangs, as the parties who got the wax were obliged to give the greater part of it to Seriff Sahibe, and incurred great risk of being fined by him on suspicion of concealment.

“The property having become valuable, the parties now appealed to the Court for a settlement of the question.

“The people of Samarahan were doubtless originally proprietors of the trees ; but their ancestors, of free-will, gave the Sibuyows a settlement and a right, which have existed for probably a hundred years. It is confessed by both parties that the Sibuyows paid something for the

settlement, but what rights were to be included in consideration of the payment cannot now be shown.

“The decision was, that the Sibuyows shall be the possessors of the Tappang trees below the junction, thus giving the original inhabitants nearly two-thirds of the ground and of the trees.”

RUNAWAY SLAVES.

“Slaves belonging to the sérail of Millanao ran away to Lundu. Feb. 25th, 1846.”—

“The slaves were sixteen in number.

Si Bugin, wife Si Klangote, and two children.

Sajar, wife Rubin, and two children.

Marali, wife Sili.

Si Gajit, wife Rubin, and three children.

Si Rajah woman.

“These slaves were valued by the Court at 397 reals—the value paid by the Rajah, and the slaves declared free.”

“The Court also gave notice, that in future, all slaves running away from any other country to Sarāwak should be declared free.”

ANOTHER SLAVE QUESTION.

“Si Bain, a Kanowit woman, claimed as a slave by Summut, a Serebas man.”

“The Court said it was proved in evidence that Si Bain was made captive by the Serebas Dyaks in her youth ;

that, after passing through several hands, some ten years ago she was sold to Summut, ran away from him, resided eight years as a free woman in Seriki, and thence of her own will removed to Sarāwak with her husband.

“It would be easy to decide this case, had it not a reference to the institution of slavery, which holds in native states.

“The woman was a free woman by birth, captured by pirates, and wrongfully reduced to slavery, and as a slave sold and re-sold.

“It is clear that a person wrongfully reduced to the condition of a slave, can never be considered a slave, though by force detained in that state. What is originally wrong can never become right; and a free person seized and sold into captivity by pirates, can under no circumstances whatever be considered a slave. This woman is, therefore, free, and even under the worst institution of slavery could not be regarded as a slave; but in her case, her supposed owner or claimant and herself both seek refuge and safety in Sarāwak; and such a claim cannot by any native law be raised by Summut, who at the time of the occurrence was a pirate himself, and living in a hostile community.

“The Court, therefore decided Si Bain to be a free woman in the fullest sense; and Summut must bear his loss; and consider himself a fortunate man in escaping the consequences of his former errors.

“The Court considered all persons under its protection

who sought refuge in Sarāwak ; but it made no distinction between the escaped slave and the fugitive pirate.

“ Si Bain is now placed on the records as a free woman.”

“ Wasahat, a Bugis Nakodah (sea-captain) brings a charge against another Bugis Nakodah, for running into debt and then cutting him down with a sword, and nearly killing him, when asked for payment.”

“ This occurred at Lingtang, in the Kaluka, three years ago, during the lifetime and government of Tuan Molāna.

“ The Court said,—‘ It appears, as far as the Court had heard, that the Bugis Nakodah (name unknown) was indebted to Wasahat thirty reals and six sukus, for tobacco and other goods ; that being pressed for payment he, with another man named Sali, attacked the complainant Wasahat, and another Bugis named Mahomed. Sali killed Mahomed ; and the Bugis Nakodah cut down Wasahat, and gave him severe and dangerous wounds. Sali (a man of inferior condition) was put to death by Tuan Molana, for the murder of Mahomed, and the Nakodah Bugis was allowed to escape all punishment for his crime, and to evade the payment of his just debts.

“ ‘ The Court regretted that it possessed no jurisdiction in this case, as the crime was committed in a distant country, and under a different government ; and no Sarāwak subject was in any way concerned. The Court regretted this want of jurisdiction ; for it was evident that a crime had been committed, and a great wrong done.

Supposing the fact to be as stated, the Nakodah Bugis would have suffered death under the law of Sarāwak ; for he was a direct party to the murder of Mahomed, and had severely wounded Wasahat in the same fray. The Court, in recording its opinion, was anxious to obtain such justice and relief for the complainant as lay in its power ; and would, therefore, summon the Nakodah Bugis, and refer the case, with a strong representation, to the Native Government of Kaluka.’ ”

ASSAULT.

*“ Si Lumma, a woman, v. the Wife of Usop, and other women,
for an assault.”*

“ The circumstances of this case of an assault of an aggravated nature are simple and clear, and allowed by Si Usop the husband of the defendant, in whose house it occurred.

“ The Court need not enter into the feelings of jealousy which gave rise to the assault. The assault itself is sufficient ; as Si Summa was decoyed into Usop’s house, and there set upon by Usop’s wife, and beaten and abused. The offence is not only against Si Summa, but a breach of the peace ; and calculated to promote a serious riot. Had men interfered, weapons in all probability would have been drawn, and blood shed.

“ The Court must repeat on every occasion—must impress it on the mind of every one—that no private

individual can take the law into his or her hands. Justice is daily administered ; and no angry passions find their way within these walls. The woman Si Summa has been misused, and the public peace broken ; therefore the defendants are condemned to pay the usual fine of thirty reals and three sukus, or, in common parlance, thirty and three."

DESTROYING TREES.

"Nidor, Tajou, and others, v. Mamat, Batak, and others."

"The plaintiffs and defendant are relations in the third degree ; and their common great-grandfather having planted some Durian trees on the bank of the river, they (the trees) have, in the loose manner in which property descends, become the property of the planter's descendants, now amounting to about fifty persons.

"The present case before the Court arises from Nidor and Tajou having taken the unripe fruit from the trees, and the defendants having, in consequence, cut down two of the trees from spite.

"The Court, having gone at some length into the case, does not purpose to pass any sentence on the defendants, but prefers pointing out to the parties before it the evil consequences of this contention, and fixing for a similar offence a fine, in future, of thirty and three.

"No good can result from the destruction of property ; and many ways might be suggested of sharing or dividing it ; but the offence consists in the serious breach of the

peace likely to ensue, from the passions which must be roused by parties taking the law into their own hands.

“The Court, having fixed the future fine for this offence, recommends a reconciliation to the parties now before it, and wishes the present decision to be made as public as possible, for the guidance of other persons holding property in common.”

FEUD.

Puttong Dyaks v. Sow, Gombong, and other Dyak Tribes.

“The Sow and other tribes made an incursion into the Puttong country, and killed eighteen persons.

“The case was not denied.

“The Court now, for the first time, has heard that such a tribe as Puttong existed. The defendants alone are subjects of Sarāwak ; but the Court, overlooking many formalities (such for instance as the crime being committed without the jurisdiction of the Court), is bound to afford protection to the injured, and to punish the offenders. The Court in doing so, however, must make some allowance for the situation, customs, and feelings of the parties, who live in a state of society so entirely different from that of Europe.

“A feud existed, it is true, between these tribes, and the tribe now complaining would retaliate against the offenders if they had power and opportunity.

“The feud was of long standing ; the custom imme-

morial ; and therefore, in reason, the Court cannot judge a body of rude savages—men who have only killed their enemies—in the same manner as it would treat a number of English murderers. The moral standard by which the savage is to be judged, in such a case, is different from that to be applied to civilised and Christian men, and it is only by gradually making the distinctions between virtue and vice more apparent, by gradually introducing severe punishments for great crimes, now esteemed honourable, by gradually purifying the savage perception of morality, that barbarous and brutal customs can be abolished, and savage tribes be forced to look upwards to the power of a restraining government.

“ If the Court viewed this crime by the light of the Christian religion, or by the law of civilised Europe, it could entertain no doubt of the sentence to be delivered ; but it does not regard this crime in so heinous a point of view, for the reasons just given, and will, therefore, content itself by inflicting a fine on the offenders, and warn them of the danger of following out their customs in defiance of the prohibition of Government.

“ Such a custom is not only extremely barbarous, but it is contrary to that obedience which they owe to the Government ; it is opposed to the security of life and property, which has reigned for five years, and which must be maintained by all good men of all nations.

“ The Court, in fining the Dyaks of Sow concerned in the incursion, and their companions, must inflict a fine far

higher than would be required by the customs of the Dyaks, and therefore decrees that they pay eleven Tatawaks to the men of Puttong ; and the Court warns all the Dyaks (especially Nimok, who headed this party), that a recurrence of this offence—this great crime—will be in future treated with the utmost severity ; for it will be in direct defiance of the power of the Government, and the decision of this Court.

“ For four years past this crime has been unknown, and it must be punished in future with such a stern justice as shall deter other men from its commission. No man can be allowed to retaliate injury on his fellow-men ; no petty feuds can be allowed to lead to bloodshed and insecurity ; and all must alike appeal to this Court for the protection of person and of property, and for the punishment of guilt.

“ The Puttong Dyaks are to receive the fine, and return to their own country.”

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

Ayer Siti v. Matyhim.

“ The Court after a long investigation of the case, and appealing for evidence to the chiefs and the best-informed men, on the customs regarding marriage, decided as follows.

“ The Court has rarely to decide on questions of marriage or divorce, which are usually settled by the Datus, accord-

ing to the custom of the country and the precepts of the Koran. The case under consideration has been brought here, because it has been found impossible to settle it in the usual manner, and because some ill-feeling has arisen in consequence.

“The case is clear. Matyhim marries at Sirhassan, with the consent of Ayer Siti, the father of his wife, and the consent of Hadji Ahat, his own father; he brings his young wife to Sarāwak, lives with her for a year; at the end of which time her father, Ayer Siti, carries her and her child to their own country. Matyhim, the husband, after a year or more of separation from his wife, refusing to reside at Sirhassan, and his wife not returning to Sarāwak, repudiates her, in the customary manner of the country, and of most countries in this part of the world.

“The present case arises from the claim to one-third of Matyhim’s (the defendant’s) property, at the time of his marriage, which is stated to be the custom of Sarāwak; against which it is alleged, on the other side, that the uniform custom of Sirhassan is that a year’s absence dissolves the marriage tie. The Court alludes to these customs; but it cannot be guided by them, because there is no evidence of what the property of Matyhim was at the time of his marriage, and because it is beyond dispute that the actual separation was on the wife’s part.

“The Court, therefore, decrees that Matyhim shall only pay the usual sum of thirty and three, which is established by custom in every case of divorce.

“The Court strongly points out to the Datus, the Imaum Belal, and the Abang Abangs of the country, the necessity of their consulting together, and fixing the laws of marriage and divorce. At the present moment they are not only confused and uncertain, but unfitted to the state of society, as many respectable persons have this day stated. As men grow rich, they will not part with a third of their whole property on occasions of divorce. Let the laws on these subjects be made clear, and fully made public; and the Court will then carry them out, if there be a necessity to appeal to it again.”

MARRIAGE AND SLAVERY.

Ipa v. Hadji Subudeen.

“The Court having gone at great length into this case, decides that the woman Ipa and her two children are free persons,—as free as any other persons in the country.

“It appears without contradiction that this woman was unjustly sold (the Court passes over this circumstance, as having occurred many years ago) to Nakodah Jaffer, whose concubine she became, and by whom she bore two children. Nakodah Jaffer, it further appears, owed a debt of seventy reals to Hamady Rajah; and at his death, there being no property, this woman and her children were

made over by Puti (the deceased's son by another woman), to the creditor, who sold them to the defendant Hadji Subudeen.

“By every law of this country, the woman and her children are free, in consequence of her having been the concubine of her master, and having borne children by him; and should the debt be a *bonâ fide* debt, and the relations of Nakodah Jaffer responsible for it, it must be equitably discharged.

“The woman and her children are pronounced free, and are at full liberty.”

KILLING PIGS.

Incas v. Inche Mannan.

“The Court having inquired into the above case, at length decided that Inche Mannan was greatly in fault for having killed the pigs of Incas.

“It appeared that Incas had been living more than three years previous to Inche Mannan's arrival at Pankalan Sant; and on his wishing to make a farm and garden near the Dyak Campong, Incas tried to dissuade him, but in vain. The Dyak pigs found their way to the garden, and destroyed the sugar-canes, &c.; Inche Mannan not having fenced it in.

“Had defendant been living there before complainant,

the case would have been different ; but, as it was, and it being also the custom of the Dyaks to allow their pigs to run about at large, the Court decided the Inche Mannan should pay Incas the value of the pigs, or return them in kind.

STABBING.

The Court v. Karim (a Javanese) for stabbing the Jemedar of the Fort.

“The Court having heard the evidence, feels no hesitation in acquitting the prisoner, on the plea that, at the time the crime was committed, he was labouring under a temporary delirium, caused by fever.

“The only question is whether the man was a responsible creature at the period ; and as the evidence is clear that he was suffering from violent fever, and as the witnesses had remarked a change (or wildness) in the expression of his eyes, and as the most conclusive testimony is given that no cause existed for committing the crime, and no shadow of ill-feeling on the part of the prisoner to the wounded man—the Court absolves Karim ; but in doing so it must recommend more care in future, when similar cases occur ; for with a Malay, accustomed to wear arms and living usually in a disturbed state of society, his weapon is resorted to in delirium, in the same manner as an Englishman would strike with his fist.

“The Court however orders that Karim be sent to the

place from whence he recently arrived, not as a punishment for the offence, but as a precautionary measure."

THEFT.

Wan Say, Seriff of Pontianak, and nephew of the Sultan of Pontianak.

"It appeared in evidence that the accused had recently arrived from Sincapore, and had not paid his passage money. That while at the house of Inche Naim, he subtracted a gold bracelet from among other ornaments belonging to Naim's wife. The bracelet was found on his person, and identified by its owner. The prisoner had offered to pledge it. The prisoner allowed that he had taken it, but said it was done in fun ; and he offered to pledge it also in fun.

"The Court, in sentencing the prisoner remarked on his high birth, and regretted that such a case should be brought before it. The higher the offender, the greater the shame ; but the shame was in the commission of crime, not in the discovery or trial. There were different degrees of guilt in theft, and likewise different degrees of punishment ; and the prisoner would suffer from shame and loss of character.

"The Court therefore sentenced him to be confined, till an opportunity occurred of sending him back to the place from whence he came."

SLAVE CASE.

Wan Mat v. Pangeran Jidat.

“ For selling Wan Mat’s slave and her children.

“ The right to Meliah and his five children was the point in dispute between the two parties.

“ After a lengthened hearing, it appeared that Meliah was the daughter of a slave, and married to Sidit, who was likewise stated to be a slave ; and by this marriage there were five children, all grown up. Sidit, it was shown in evidence, was originally a free man (being of Kaluka) and had been reduced to slavery under the following circumstances :—

“ The grandfather of the present Sultan of Brunè, about thirty or thirty-five years ago, demanded a prahu of Pangeran Jidat ; but Hadji Marsalla, the person bringing the order, having nothing to pay for her, ordered (in the Sultan’s name) the ministers of Kaluka to give four free men as slaves to Pangeran Jidat, as the price of the prahu.

“ Amongst these free men, thus reduced to slavery, was Sidit, who was married at the time to Meliah ; and ever since both he and his wife and family have been in the position of slaves with Pangeran Jidat.”

DECISION OF COURT.

“ The Court has listened with great attention to this intricate case, and with a sincere desire to arrive

at a right conclusion, and to do justice to both parties.

“ The Court must decide this case within certain limits ; as it is known that the Government of Sarāwak, since the day it was established, has held as a principle that it is not competent for this Court to open cases which occurred in former years, nor to set right the wrongs committed by former Governments. Meliah, it is shown, has been a slave for the last thirty or thirty-five years to Pangeran Jidat ; and this right of possession, so clearly proved, the Court cannot, on the principle laid down, infringe.

“ The case of Sidit was different : it was allowed on all hands that he was a free man ; it was not clearly shown how he was made a slave ; and great was the guilt of those, according to the religion of the country and the sense of right in every man’s bosom, who reduced a free man to the condition of a slave.

“ The Court, therefore, with some hesitation, but with a desire to do right, decides that Sidit is a free man.

“ There still remains to decide the future state of the five children ; and, according to custom, the offspring of a marriage between a free man and a slave woman should be half free and half slaves ; but—bearing this in mind, and leaning as the Court does to the side of freedom—the Court must decide against the claims of the children. The father is reduced to slavery, and, in fact, has been a slave for thirty or thirty-five years ; and the mother—to whomsoever she may have originally belonged—was

undoubtedly the slave of slaves, and the children have been brought up in the same manner and condition.

“The Court therefore, regarding the original freedom of Sidit, declares him a free man ; but decides that Meliah and all her children by the union with Sidit are slaves.”

DEPOSIT.

Si Leh v. Inche Kassan.

“Si Leh deposited $5\frac{1}{2}$ amas of gold as a pledge, on borrowing three reals.

“One man and his wife declared there was no agreement for interest, nor penalty attached to the pledge ; the other man and his wife, that the gold was to be forfeited, if not redeemed within a month.

“The Court observed that there was nothing to guide the decision ; and it should therefore decide as appeared most just to both parties.

“The want of an agreement vitiated any claim to the forfeiture of the whole pledge ; but it was right that something should be paid for the convenience, and for the risk run by defendant of fire or robbery, whilst the property remained in his hands. It appeared, too, that Kassan had himself borrowed the money.

“The Court, without going minutely into the matter, decreed that defendant should restore the gold, on receiving back the three reals and one real extra, for the use of the money and risk run.

“Parties ought to be careful in cases of this sort to have a written agreement, or a verbal one before witnesses.”

It is possible that some of my readers may not find equal *amusement* with myself in the Court Records of Sarāwak ; but none will deny that they disclose a very extraordinary achievement of individual energy, influence, and character. The particular cases given were selected by me at random from a large mass of similar entries, of which I copied such as were most legible. They are written both in the Malayan and the English languages. The Rajah pronounces judgment in the Malayan, and the proceedings and sentence are recorded in the English language. The circumstances under which this book has reached its present bulk, while they must engage the highest sympathies of the Christian and the philanthropist, offer even to the statesman and the political economist no contemptible study of mankind. I am not anxious to set up Sir James Brooke as a wonderful hero : exaggerated pretensions on his behalf would be little in keeping with his character : but I *may* say that such *are* the characters which, in some respects most resemble, and in others surpass, the vaunted heroes of antiquity. Of *them* it is suggested by the historian of Greece, that while they were no more than men, they were men of a spirit and sentiment immeasurably above their generation ; which spirit and sentiment instigated them “ to devote themselves to toil and danger, for the service

of mankind, and for the acquisition of an honest fame : opposing oppression, and relieving the oppressed, wherever such were to be found ; and bearing the sword of universal justice, while Governments were yet too weak to wield it.”

If, by individuals appearing once an age in modern times—such as, I will say, a *Raffles* or a *Brooke*—those deeds of the classic giant be emulated with *nobler weapons*—with the sword of Wisdom, the sword of Intelligence, and, above all, the sword of the Spirit—is the hero of conquests thus achieved, less a hero ? Not so,—even according to the above description : but I claim no particular *title* for such men. I state facts from which, if any have had their opinions unsettled by plausible misrepresentations, they may for themselves accurately decide the appropriate title of my friend, and the appropriate titles of his accusers.

I will conclude this Chapter, and this subject, with a brief, and therefore necessarily incomplete summary of the results of Sir James Brooke’s policy and principles, as carried out since he became Rajah of Sarāwak : and I do so, not so much to accumulate vindications of my friend, as to help to set the light of his example on a candlestick, for the encouragement of other *Brookes* that may be yet to come.

The results to CHRISTIANITY—to the cause of the GOSPEL, and thereby to the *highest* interests of mankind, may be sufficiently inferred from what I have said in an earlier part of this Chapter, from the unquestionable

testimony of the Bishop of Calcutta : this, however, is now confirmed by a communication kindly made to me even while revising this printed sheet, by the Rev. F. McDougall. It touches also on general subjects, and shall come presently.

The MORAL and SOCIAL results will require little exposition, with those who shall have read my extracts from the *Court Records*. The sum is this—that a few years ago an Englishman landed on a corner of a vast Oriental continent, the greater part of which still is, as the whole then was, in a state of barbarism. That (by means which *also* are now misrepresented, but which a word or two of truth shall presently vindicate) he became the ruler of a province in which the only law was force : all questions were decided, all difficulties adjusted by the “*kris*,” or sword.

“ More ferarum,
Viribus editior cædebat, ut in grege taurus.”

Disputes were all to brutal force referr'd,
And man rul'd man, as bulls o'errule the herd.

Well ! within a few weeks of the stranger's “*usurpation*,” a code of laws is promulgated based on the best legal principles of the best governed country of the civilised world ; but adapted also to the state and character of a peculiar people ; divested of jargon ; prepossessing by its simplicity and common sense. This code speaks for itself to an intelligent, though untaught, race of native rulers ; they adopt it heartily ; they associate themselves

with their foreign benefactor in its administration ; they sacrifice to him the prejudices and the habits of generations : mercy and justice, firmness and moderation, fix his authority in their affections, not their fears ; distant and strange tribes flock to him as the arbiter of *their* difficulties. What a source of influence is even thus acquired for the English name !

I invite the reader to another impartial glance at the court records of Sarāwak. Let him picture to himself this Englishman occupying his seat of justice, as I have before described him, surrounded by his native suitors confidently awaiting those decisions, which he delivers after a deferential consultation with their own native rulers, in a style which shows him a master of *their* language, as well as of the universal language of the heart. The right to a little bees-wax, or to a Tappang-tree is not beneath his adjudication ; the question of SLAVERY is not shunned by him ; he declares in the face of thousands, who have been accustomed to buy and sell their fellow-creatures, that, as the land of his birth emancipates the enslaved foot that touches it, so shall the land of his adoption. He assigns to murder its right name, though a chief be the murderer, and a poor fisherman the victim ; he utterly abolishes every barbarous and revolting custom ; he establishes so firmly the rule of reason and principle in the convictions of his people, that he is able to leave his government for months in the charge of a few trustworthy representatives, assured that the blessings he has planted shall conserve

themselves, and that religion and justice will continue to go hand-in-hand.

And he comes home to be put upon his defence as an assassin, a usurper, an impostor, a cheat, a mere trader!

The last word brings me to the next point which deserves attention. The COMMERCIAL development of Sarāwak under the same auspices has not been less remarkable than its political and social. Trade, which was absolutely nothing before Sir James Brooke's Government, has experienced a progressive increase—varying, however, with the thermometer of *Piracy*—until having in 1849 reached to nearly 2000 tons, it has in this year approached 25,000. This does not include the coasting trade carried on in small prahus, but only that with Sincapore, the Dutch ports, &c. Many vessels—some of large tonnage, have been built or are building at Sarāwak.

Inseparably connected with the subject of COMMERCE is that of PIRACY; and the benefits conferred in this respect alone on trade, humanity, and civilisation, through the instrumentality of Sir James Brooke, are immense, although it is not his fault that they are not greater. Trade and piracy may here be designated as reciprocally thermometers to each other. In 1842 terror reigned, and trade was nought. In 1844 the operations which I had the honour of directing restored peace to the coast; trade revived, and made steady progress until 1848. By that time the pirates had forgotten their punishment; they began to ravage the coasts; trade declined. In 1849 they

resumed all their old atrocities, which would have utterly destroyed peaceful avocations ; but, after their defeat by Capt. Farquhar in July, the returns for the year reached 2,000 tons. The year 1850 shows 10,000 ; 1851, 15,000 ; 1852 already 22,000 tons. And let me observe that the Sarāwak river is not the richest, nor the most populous on the coast ; there are many others more productive, many equally so ; and therefore the question is not whether the Rajah of Sarāwak shall be left to a little pack who may hunt him down or not as they list, it being of no consequence to England generally ; but whether he be not in a position in which, for the sake of English commerce, it is of the greatest consequence to countenance and confide in him.

The entire POPULATION of Sarāwak has, under Sir James Brooke's government, risen from 8000 to 50,000.

Since the defeat of the pirates, in 1849, a most salutary *preventive* measure has been resorted to by Sir James Brooke, in the erection of two forts, which command the communication of the piratical rivers with the sea. One is at the junction of the Sakarran with the Batang Lupar. A flourishing town has already sprung up around this fort, which is called "Fort James." It is worthy of note, that this fort was built by *Sakarran* Malays and Dyaks,—lately pirates by compulsion, if not by choice. It is highly pleasing to them : its objects are to maintain the ascendancy of the chiefs disinclined to piracy ; to prevent the descent of pirate fleets ; to check intertribal feuds. *At the*

request of the Sakarrans, who desired to have a European resident among them, the native ruler, whom Sir James Brooke had at first appointed to that post, has been superseded by Mr. Brereton, who now holds that position at the will of the natives.

Within the last few days I have been favoured with the perusal of a very recent letter from the above gentleman, of whom I am proud as a Norfolk man, thus governing in what was lately the stronghold of piracy. It is addressed to his father, and dated from SAKARRAN, July, 1852. I avail myself of permission to print so much as is not of a private nature. It is valuable for its genuine and very fresh testimony as to the feelings cherished, even at this moment, by the *Sakarrans* towards the Rajah of Sarāwak.

“ I have read Mr. ———’s letter with much attention ; I should wish you to explain to him that, if I were alone here, and had only my own interest at heart, I should discard the *sword and pistol* as *repugnant to my feelings*, as they would be *injurious to my safety* ; but that I have nearly 2000 Malays, who have joined their fortunes to my own ; and I should have both my honour to them and my discretion doubted, if I did not take the necessary precautions by arming them and myself, in case an armed force from the country should challenge an exchange of blows—and who would *not*, in defence of their friends and home (putting aside a good cause) ? And again it must be remembered that this is the heart, the central spot

where piracy has prevailed for years ; from whence thousands yearly poured out to scour the high seas, whose hands were against every man's, and whose religion encourages murder. As I said before, if I were alone, I should discard arms as useless ; but, as head of a large community, I should be committing a greater crime, by not being prepared to meet on their own ground a people born and educated in the midst of strife and bloodshed. It will be pleasing to Mr. — to know that I have attained my present influence amongst these people, and the place has attained its present importance, without my having caused the death of a single individual, although I have been often obliged to present a musket. A firm attitude has accomplished this : but I have no hesitation in affirming that, if I had not been prepared, my own life, and that of all the Malays under me, would have been in danger. A dog will quarrel and bite, if his bone be taken away, and it is thus with the Dyaks with blood.

“ I must relate an affair which has just happened, to show Mr. — the present feeling that the Dyaks have towards me, acting for the Rajah ; and at the same time I consider it as one of the highest compliments that has yet been paid to the Rajah, coming as it does from the mouths of the very people, upon whose account the unjustifiable and acrimonious attacks have been made upon him by certain parties, boasting the name of Englishmen.

“ I have been sending different parties about the

country, to ascertain the number and situation of the various tribes in this country, who follow me ; and the following was the tenor of their discourse :—Their great fear was, ‘ that the Rajah would *give them up* ; they never were so happy before ; things were never so cheap ; they could go about the country without fear of crossing an enemy’s trail ; the Rajah was their SUN, their MOON,—their FATHER and MOTHER ; and that, if the Rajah would not receive their offerings of padi, he was going to give them up,—they would bring it down themselves, or take it to Sarāwak, wherever the Rajah liked : it was the greatest *shame* I could give them, if I did not take it from them. But what they *gave now* was not to be taken for a precedent by the Malays, or any other party, if the Rajah gave them up, as they would never acknowledge anybody else, except the Rajah.’

“The independent tone of this is capital ! ‘they will never acknowledge any other rule than the Rajah’s !’ and the endearing terms and expressions used are wonderful. The love and influence the Rajah possesses amongst these people is extraordinary. Is it not curious that I should hear this from the mouths of these people ? and in England now Hume is making them hate him !

“I have also to thank Mr. —— for his very handsome present. I told Gasu, the most powerful chief here, of Mr. ——’s present, and of his ideas upon the subject of warfare. He said : ‘ It was very good for the white man ; but that if it was not for these swords and spears, they would

have eaten themselves up, without the assistance of their enemies.' This is figurative, but true ; and I could not help thinking of our own tradition of the Kilkenny cats. He told me at the same time to 'be armed, as it was proper.' "

In the neighbourhood of Fort James, in the new town, and about the banks of the Batang Lupar, is a population of more than 200,000 souls ; the fields are now under cultivation, having been untouched for years ; and all are now looking for protection to the Rajah of Sarāwak, and ready of course, through the multiplying requirements of a great community, to pay back in commercial advantages whatever benefits they may derive from European countenance and protection.

The second new fort is at the entrance of the Kanowit. This also is built at the request and at the expense of the Kayan chiefs, and they too have requested the Rajah to send them a European Governor. Mr. Steel at present guards this fort ; and to his credit I record that by the last accounts he was absent in the interior, *vaccinating* the Kayan children. Such, in fact, has been the course pursued by the Rajah of Sarāwak, and so well is he backed by his few European coadjutors, that his extraordinary influence may be said to be only now beginning to develop itself : it is a moral influence ; not the effect of force ; and the fact that many independent chiefs—heads of Governments *de facto*—seek to be under the Government of Sarāwak, but are refused from necessity ; that they nevertheless

own its power, and make it the supreme arbiter of their internal disputes ; that there is not a *pirate* chief even, who will not come to Sarāwak, assured of the good faith of its ruler ; nay—the single fact that he dwells among them in safety, with a mere handful of Europeans among thousands of natives, of a fierce and independent character,—this alone is an answer to any charge which private malice could originate, or uninquiring credulity receive, of cruelty, selfishness, oppression, against the Rajah of Sarāwak.

Of one thing I am sure : that if, being such as he is by actual position in the Eastern Archipelago, he be unnaturally driven from the service and alliance of his native country by persecution and injustice at the hands of a persevering clique ; or if, looking reasonably to her for some reciprocity of disinterestedness, the results of which would inevitably reward her tenfold into her bosom, he finds his expectations repudiated ;—if, I say, such disappointments should produce their natural consequence, sure I am that there *are* European powers, who will not be backward to appreciate the advantage of establishing such a reciprocity with the Sarāwak flag : and one cannot help seeing that, devoted as Sir James Brooke has been hitherto to the interests of England, as against European rivals, his position and character are independent.

The commercial importance of Sarāwak in those seas can scarcely be over-rated : the astonishing influx of

Chinese immigrants attests that *they* at least have discovered it.

Among the benefits for which the chief praise is due to my friend, though I am aware that he duly acknowledges his obligations to the naval service, is the present SECURITY FROM PILLAGE, enjoyed on the highway of nations.

And on shore no less he has been the *peacemaker*. Peace, through his mediation, has been established between tribes, whose mutual animosities had raged immemorially. PEACE-CONGRESSES have been held, which would gladden the heart and loose the tongue even of that euonymous personage, Mr. Elihu Burritt.

Wishing to express on these subjects my own genuine convictions untinged by communication with Sir James Brooke, I may have fallen into trifling inaccuracies ; but I think not into any that can affect the main points I have advanced. I believe I may also safely state that all the improvements and salutary measures referred to have been carried into effect out of the Rajah's *public salary*, or from the revenue of Sarāwak ; the latter resource, however, is not very redundant.

Its annual expenses are between £5,000 and £6,000. It has now a debt of £3,000 ; and it has absorbed £20,000 of Sir James Brooke's private fortune.

I do not think that there are above one or two persons in this kingdom who could misinterpret the views of a not extravagant Government, in appointing Sir James Brooke, in 1847, Governor of Labuan, with a salary and a

Lieutenant-Governor ; or who could suggest that he was expected to waste all his time on that unpeopled island. It was a mode of acknowledging his past services to trade and to humanity, of retaining generally his prospective services, and of reimbursing him in some degree for the entire expenditure of his private fortune. The public interests, however, have always received back that salary : for so much of it as was not expended in Labuan was devoted to the equipment of a fleet of native prahus, for the suppression of piracy,—an object sufficiently unselfish to disarm most cavillers.

It is reported that the Sultan of Bruné is dead, or dying. Anarchy and confusion will ensue, such as I confidently say the Rajah of Sarāwak alone has the power to restrain. The probable successor to the throne is the son of Muda Hassim ; and again the Rajah of Sarāwak is the only person who can advance the interests of the new Sultan. He is everywhere respected, and through him a general respect has attached itself to the English name.

Of any one material assertion which I have here advanced I challenge denial : and if none can be denied, then I invite my country—as a country set against slavery, devoted to civilisation, aggrandised by commerce, glorified by Christianity—still to appreciate the Rajah of Sarāwak, her honoured representative in the East, and her most potent auxiliary in all these characters. I invite her to mark more loudly than ever her sense of the difference between private persecution and conscientious patriotism.

I had hoped that I should not have occasion, after the last chapter, to mention Mr. Hume: but even while writing this, I became acquainted with more "Parliamentary Papers," which I had not thought of examining before, and on which it would appear that he intends to build a new tower of strength for an assault upon Sir James Brooke. I can assure him that his foundation is of sand. I have only time to throw into the Appendix the three mischievously-intended questions addressed by the Honourable Member to Lord Malmesbury. His Lordship's reply is worthy of an English gentleman—but I can only refer to it from memory, as objecting to "prejudge a distinguished servant of the Crown;" which reply drew forth from Mr. Hume an elaborate denial that he *is* "distinguished." I hope Mr. Hume may live to deny, or to be ashamed of his own distinction in a line which it is hard to believe conscientious still; for this new case again abounds in errors of conclusion, and of fact, which a statesman-like accuser, on public grounds, ought to be honest enough, and, when twice signally defeated, wise enough to shun. I read, however, in this morning's "Times," some excellent remarks upon calumnies directed against another *very* distinguished (military) servant of the Crown, and upon the mode of treating them. Much good may they do to all in need of sound counsel and good consolation under calumny:—

"The public will very generally sympathise with the

gallant officer's indignation at the foul aspersions brought against him. Let him leave the care of his defence to the justice of his contemporaries, and of posterity. Every one in this outspoken country, who has raised himself to any degree of civil or military eminence, has been exposed to the like attacks, and in his proper person proved how little calumny can avail against an honest man. Every obnoxious epithet was applied to the *conqueror of the Peninsula*, either for acts of his own men, over which he had no control, or for the acts of the enemy. *He* was great enough—*every* man should be great enough—to live down slander."

I am favoured with the following interesting paper on the present state of Sarāwak, by the Rev. Francis McDougall, the zealous and exemplary clergyman already referred to :—

"After many inquiries on the subject, I think we may safely say that Sarāwak (or Kuching) is now the most thriving town in all Borneo. I should put the *Malay* inhabitants at about 15,000; the poorer part of them grow rice, the wealthier are all traders who go to sea in their own vessels, or join the ventures of those who have them. Many of the *nakodas* sail vessels of considerable burden; one was launched last year of 230 tons; and the number of craft of various description to be seen building on both sides of the river, as one rows past the town, is quite surprising. The once small Chinese Bazaar is grown into a respectable town, with broad streets for carts and

other wheeled conveyances. The altap cottages are giving place to substantial bilian and plank walled houses, and in some cases the roofs are tiled, in others covered with bilian shingles. The shops are crammed with merchandise ; and several of the shopkeepers have branch establishments at Sakarran, and I believe also at Siriki. Three or four small Sincapore schooners, owned by Chinese and Klings, are constantly running between Sarāwak and Sincapore ; they bring European and Chinese goods, and take back sago, gutta percha, &c. The kitchen gardens cultivated by Chinese extend a long way round the town into the jungle, and by their rapid extension afford a convincing proof of the increasing demands of the place. There is a good carriage-road running due south from the town for nearly three miles, with pretty gardens and cottages all the way along.

“ Up the river at Siniawan and Bow, where three years since there were but a few scattered Chinese cottages, there are now considerable Chinese towns, with well built houses, shops of all kinds, and handsome joss and kungsi houses.

“ At Sakarran, round Fort James, the same pleasing signs of progress are visible ; and a picturesque little town, with its Chinese Bazaar and well built houses, now stands where two years ago there was but a few straggling cottages. From this town a brisk trade is carried on with the natives of the interior.

“ Up the Serebas, at Boling, a large Malay town is fast

springing into life, and there is a continually increasing trade between that river and Sarāwak.

“At Lundu the Chinese are settling in numbers, and have already converted a large tract of ground into sugar and vegetable gardens. Gold has been found there, which they hope to work profitably.

“Since the fort has been built and garrisoned on the Rejang, an opening has been made into the Kayan countries, and a trade is springing up there which will, ere long, be very important.

“The Church of England mission at Sarāwak has been gradually working its way into an important and prominent position. The church and mission house are striking features as one approaches the town ; the former is opened for regular daily services, which are assiduously attended by the native converts : the latter is as thronged and busy as a beehive. It is inhabited by the missionaries, their assistants, and the twenty-five native Christian children, who are being brought up there for future service in the mission, and, when duly qualified, will be sent out to teach their heathen friends and kinsmen the ways of truth and righteousness. The Rajah has kindly lent the Court-house, and provided an assistant Malay teacher for a Malay school, which is held there daily for all such natives as like to attend. One missionary, Mr. Chambers, is stationed at Sakarran, among the important tribes of Dyaks on that river, who have received him well. It is intended that he shall soon be joined by another, to assist

him in his important and laborious position ; and a third missionary is now about to proceed to Lundu, where the chief of the tribe has professed his desire to embrace Christianity. There are now four clergymen, one catechist, an English matron for the school, and two native assistants, attached to the mission. There is also an hospital and dispensary, supported by the Rajah, attached to it. As soon as the present clergy are sufficiently versed in the language, they will be placed out at different stations already fixed upon, where the Dyaks are ready to receive them.”

I will end by setting Mr. Hume a puzzle. In the works of Lord Bacon he will find a dissertation on “sovereign honour.” I invite him to adapt to any passage of his own life any *one* of the “degrees of honour” there set forth, with half the appropriateness with which I will fit them all four upon my friend.

“In the first place are founders of States and Commonwealths.”—Here follow, of course, the great names of history. All I say is, that Mr. Hume, far from ever having *founded* anything, has a special predilection for things *unfounded* : whereas Brooke has founded Sarāwak, which is, and will remain, his monument.

“In the second place are law-givers ; which are also called second founders, because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone.”—We have seen in this chapter the administration of the laws of Sarāwak : they

are made to last. I am not aware that the member for Montrose will leave anything to rule *us* after *he* is gone.

“In the third place are liberators, or preservers : such as control the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants.”—Read the history of Sarāwak,” Mr. Hume, and quote it fairly, and give us your own parallel passages.

“In the last place are *patres patriæ*—fathers of their country—which reign justly, and make the times good, wherein they live.”—This is the very light in which Sir Thomas Cochrane, Mr. Brereton, and many others, witness that Sir James Brooke is regarded in Borneo : and there is enough in this present chapter to establish it.

I invite Mr. Hume to disprove my friend's title to *every* one of these “degrees of honour,” or to establish his own to *any* one of them. And so I bid him heartily farewell.

CHAPTER XVI.

PIRATICAL CHIEFS TENDER SUBMISSION—GOOD EFFECTS OF THE EXPEDITION—
 DYAK GRATITUDE—DYAK WOMEN—AMUSING OUR VISITORS—SCREW STEAMER
 ASTONISHES THE NATIVES—ADIEU TO SARAWAK—ARRIVAL AGAIN AT SINGAPORE—
 SIR JAMES BROOKE'S JOURNAL—IMMIGRATION TO SARAWAK—SAMBAS—STRUGGLES
 BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND CHINESE—OPINIONS OF DYAK CHIEFS ON PIRACY—
 DEATH OF BUNSIH AND TUJANG—POLICY OF MERCY—BUSINESS ON HAND—
 DESCRIPTION OF A WEDDING—CHARACTER OF BUNSIH, AND OF TUJANG—LUNDU
 —PROGRESS OF SARAWAK—EFFECT OF IMPROVED GOVERNMENT ON THE DYAKS
 —DISPOSITION AND CAPABILITIES OF DYAKS CONSIDERED—THE ORANG KAYA
 PAMANCHA—RETURN TO KUCHING.

FOR many weeks subsequent to the return of Captain Farquhar's expedition, chiefs from all the piratical rivers continued to visit the Rajah, and to tender their pledges to abstain from Piracy. Many Dyaks and Malays met and became friends, who had hitherto never met, and had only heard of one another as hereditary and deadly enemies. They benefited also in a commercial point of view by the late operations, as, in consequence of the peace and security which they obtained, they soon became great exporters of the productions of their exuberant soil,

on which, amongst other things, rice and sago may be grown to any amount.

Every attention and kindness was shown to the strangers at Sarāwak, by the Rajah, after his return from the expedition to the Serebas and the Rejang. All the prisoners, including women and children, after being for some weeks well fed and treated in the kindest manner, were set at liberty, loaded with clothes and other presents.

A pleasing trait of gratitude may be here related. A Sakarran chief belonging to the river Poe, the head of eight villages, had been taken prisoner and detained at Sarāwak. When the account of his capture reached his wife, she, with that careful attention peculiar to her sex, made up a bundle of valuable Dyak cloths, to enable him by their sale to support himself and live like a chief. Having been set at liberty, he had got as far as Siriki on his return home, when he met the messenger with the bundle. Informing the bearer that it had been his good fortune to make a friend of the Rajah, he bade him continue his journey to Sarāwak, and present the package to Sir James, with a message begging that he would accept them, not for their value, but as a proof of his gratitude.

The Dyak women are susceptible of great devotion to their husbands. When Indra Lelah was passing up the Linga, he noticed some particularly large alligators on the move, notice of which he gave to Ijow, a Balow Chief, who was bathing with his wife. They immediately

turned to leave the stream ; but the chief waited a little too long : he was seized and dragged under water ; the woman, on seeing her husband's fate, sprang into the river after him, shrieking out that she would not survive his loss ; but the alligator, having as much as he could manage, did not molest her ; she was with difficulty saved by her friends.

Among the things shown for the amusement of the visitors, the burning of spirits astonished them greatly, as well as a few simple chemical experiments : a magic lantern gave rise to bursts of merriment, and to many jocose observations. One view, representing some body-snatchers in a churchyard bearing away their ghastly burdens, pursued by a number of skeletons, one of which carried a skull in its hand, particularly excited the Sakarrans : they shouted, laughed, and yelled.

One afternoon, to the wonder of all, and the dismay of not a few, a mysterious-looking ship was seen moving up the river, at a steady pace against a strong ebb tide ; their astonishment was great, for she was propelled by neither sails nor paddles. "The English were indeed a wonderful and wise people." It was the *Reynard* man-of-war screw-steamer, Commander Cracroft, lately arrived from England.

I took my leave of Sarāwak, probably for the last time, with no small regret. It was a very different place when I first knew it in 1842. In those, its early days, it was my good fortune to lend it the small aid then

placed at my disposal, an aid which proved to be opportune.

My interest in the province of Sarāwak has increased, in proportion to its growing size and importance. My admiration of the man whose head has devised, and whose generosity and kindness of heart have conferred such lasting benefits on so many thousand human beings, is only that of every one who has ever taken the trouble to become acquainted with his character. "Out of evil good will arise,"—"Truth must prevail,"—"No good man was ever without his detractors;" and those, who would blemish the fair fame of Sir James Brooke, will, by bringing his real character prominently before the public, only raise him higher in the opinion of the world.

On arrival at Sincapore on the 20th August 1849, we found orders to proceed to Port Essington, Sydney, and the Pacific. We took up our old berth in New Harbour, and prepared for a voyage to another quarter of the globe. We had likewise to take charge of a schooner, built at Bombay for the Colonial Government at Port Adelaide.

* * * * *

I had delivered into the publisher's hands thus much of my own Manuscript, when Sir James Brooke kindly allowed me access to some scattered notes, which he had himself kept from time to time. They appeared to me to contain much interesting matter. One portion especially I could wish that he had allowed me to communicate. It

relates to his mission to the King of Siam. Another part, however, illustrative of men and things in Borneo, I have with difficulty obtained permission to make use of.

The notes are published as they stand in the original Manuscript.

“June 15th, 1850,—Sincapore. I commence anew a Journal of events, after a lapse of several important years of my life ; and I propose to continue it, as a record of events and of feelings, of hopes and of fears, of struggles, of successes, and defeats.

“This record, however, will be for myself alone ; I shall try to lose the sense of writing for the public, and use the freedom that I feel of action and of expression.

“October 28th, 1850. My Journal recommences in Sarāwak—our detention in Sincapore and the passage over in the *Nemesis* being unworthy of mention.

“Sarāwak flourishes ; and an influx of a large body of Chinese promises well for the future ; and the fact of these immigrants having wives and families, and being agriculturists, ensures the quiet of the country.

“Sambas, it appears, has at present two kunsis or associated bodies of Chinese ; namely, the Tyquong whose capital is Montrado, and Santiqu, who were principally located at Sipang. The power of the Tyquong kungsi had overshadowed the entire country, until the Dutch authority was but a name ; and the large opium revenue

of the Sultan of Sambas was gradually falling away, from the barefaced system of smuggling carried on.

“I believe that I may safely say that it had become a question, which of the two parties was to rule the country ; and thus the Dutch and the Sultan resolved to vindicate the authority of Government, and to humble the kungsi Tyquong. The occasion was not long wanting ; and, a positive demand for the delivery of some opium smugglers meeting with a positive refusal, hostilities followed. The detail is of no importance to Sarāwak ; but up to the present time Tyquong has been successful, has beaten back the Dutch troops from their ground, and has attacked and punished all the Chinese who have sided with the legitimate Government. Amongst these the Santiqu have suffered : Sipang and other places have been captured ; and the inhabitants of the flourishing town of Pamangkat, at the entrance of the Sambas river, fled in a fright to Sarāwak, on the advance of their Chinese enemies. Thus Sarāwak has gained a very good and a very useful population ; and Sambas, our neighbour, is involved in a struggle which must materially affect its future prosperity, in which ever way it may terminate.

“My sympathies are with the Dutch ; and I am assured that the existence of the Dyaks in Sambas depends on the humiliation of the Chinese. At all events Sarāwak must gain, and its future prosperity must depend on the *Government of the Chinese*. It is to this point, therefore, that I first turn my attention ; and, as the Santiqu are

now in distress, and sufficiently humble, it will not be a difficult task to reduce it to obedience, and to establish a fixed system of government, which shall prevent that gradual, but fatal, encroachment on the Dyaks, which has prevailed in the neighbouring country. In the mean time, though these Pamangkat fugitives are miserably poor, and though we are supporting 350 families, the jungle is fast disappearing around the town, and houses are springing up in every direction. The Chinese in the interior once brought under control, and I look forward to a great and rapid advance in the resources of the country and its revenues.

“After breakfast, met Nanang, Lowio, and Ajee, the three sons of the Orang Kaya Pamancha of Serebas. Nanang and Ajee I like; and it would have instructed some English wiseheads to have heard them strongly insisting, that their delinquencies by sea and by land were committed chiefly at the instigation of the Malays. ‘Had I been present last night,’ said Ajee, ‘when Abang Apong said the Malays could not restrain the Dyaks, I would have told him to his face that it was the Malays who first taught the Dyaks to pirate, and who have since always encouraged and participated in the crime.’

“I sent many kind messages to the Orang Kaya Pamancha, begging him to forbear himself, and to restrain the other Dyak chiefs.

“Abang Apong the son of the Laxsimana of Serebas,

arrived at the same time as Nanang : the latter inhabits Paddi, the former Paku. He is a fine young man, and well spoken ; and, if I may trust to his assurances, there is no doubt that the Malays of Serebas will desist from piracy. It is certain that the tone of submission at present is better than after Keppel's operation. The repetition of the blow has done much ; and, as I am assured that the Malays of their own accord desire to establish themselves at Boling, I have great hopes of their sincerity ; for at Boling they are accessible at all times.

“ It was Abang Apong, his brother Abang Gombang, Lingire, and a small party, that killed my poor friend Bunsie and his younger brother Tujang, sons of the Orang Kaya Tumangong of Lundu.* It is strange that on both the occasions, when we have been unfortunate in action, it was from the neglect of my precautions. Bunsie and Tujang, instead of advancing cautiously as scouts before forty Malays, and with the body of Europeans within a hundred yards, straggled forward as though an ambush was impossible. Bunsie passed a small clump of bamboo, behind which the enemy were concealed ; and Lingire (a very little man) jumping out killed him with two cuts on the back. Tujang ran to his brother's assistance and engaged Abang Apong ; both fell, and each grappled the sword arm of his adversary ; but Abang Gombang coming to his brother's aid, and Lingire

* The incidents here detailed are mentioned in my account of operations up the Paku branch of the Serebas river, chap. x., H. K.

SEREBAS JACK.

likewise, Tujang was despatched, just as two Malays of our party arrived at the scene of conflict.

“These two, of whom one was Abang Hassan, fired at about ten paces’ distance ; the one shot killing Abang Gombang, and the other passing through Lingire’s war jacket. The small party forming the ambushade then fled, and we were not again troubled by enemies. This story I had from Lingire.

“Among the visitors was Captain Wallage’s captured Dyak, commonly known by the name of “Jack,” but whose real name is Kabo, and who is the brother of Lingire. The last fact he concealed, fearing, as he said, the natives who were with us. The man seemed pleased to meet me again, and grateful for the kindness shown him.

“Mercy in these cases is seldom thrown away ; and we ought never to judge this wild and barbarous people as we would judge a piratical felon of Europe. The crime must be suppressed at any cost ; but the distinction between the perpetrators is palpable. The one being a national or tribal offence against the world at large, the other the act of individual felons, the outpouring scum of civilisation.

“There are four questions of prominent importance to be attended to during my six weeks’ residence here. First, the settlement of Serebas, as far as may be. Second, the settlement of Sakarran, by means of the fort established at the entrance, which will be the nucleus of a trading town. Third, the settlement of the Rejang by a fort and trading port at the mouth of the Kanowit.

Fourth, something like a government for the fine river of Sadong.

“These points must be well considered ; and to create good governments I must find good agents ; and I must have the permission of the *de jure* rulers in Borneo, whose power has long been at an end.

“29th.—A wedding at the Datus House, where we sat for two long hours ; but I cannot stop to describe it.”

* * * * *

I interrupt my friend's Journal to give an account of the wedding here alluded to.

The bride was a niece of my old acquaintance Mina, the Datu Patingue's wife ; the bridegroom was young Kassan, who was residing with the Datu Bandar. The event created, from the rank of the parties, a great sensation at Sarāwak.

For a whole month previous to the actual ceremony, firing of cannon and display of flags, feasting and merry-making, had been going on at the houses of the respective parents.

The ceremony took place at Mina's new residence. A large square space was fitted up in one corner of the room, and handsomely decorated : here were placed the bridal couches, the two last covered with handsome mats ; and at the head of each there was a pile of pillows which nearly reached to the ceiling. The couches were surrounded by one or two sets of curtains, ready to be let down at pleasure ; and the spaces between the latter and

the couches were decorated in gorgeous style, with cloth of gold, artificial flowers, and numerous other ornaments.

Chairs (an unsightly innovation) were placed in the centre of the room for the Europeans, on which we had to wait a considerable time. Gradually the room began to fill with the ladies of Sarāwak and their children : they seated themselves in their more primitive posture, all squatting on the floor, while the men collected outside.

In one corner we observed the bride seated on an ornamented mattress, and surrounded by a crowd of women, who were busy dressing and decorating the poor girl ; she drooped her head and affected to be, or I dare say she was, very nervous, but did not say a word. However, the head-dress, covered all over with gold flowers and ornaments, having been completed to the satisfaction of the elderly ladies, she was led to the bridal couch, where she was seated. The men sit cross-legged ; the posture of the women is more graceful, both feet being inclined on one side and bent back. We noticed that each young lady closely scrutinised the bride, and pretended to detect something in the dress that required a finishing pinch : some fanned her, and all looked a little envious.

Her dress was very handsome, and in good taste : the baju (jacket) was of shot silk, embroidered with gold, and was of native manufacture ; the saluar (trousers) of rich silk ; one sarong, likewise of silk, was fastened round the waist by a gold belt, and reached to the ancles ; while a

lighter one was worn over the right shoulder and across the breast; her arms were loaded with massive gold bracelets, and she wore on her left hand a profusion of rings; a handkerchief was held in her right hand, as is considered indispensable by Malays of rank.

The young bride had a narrow escape of being very pretty; the upper part of her face really was so, but the lower jaw was a little too square and prominent.

From the number in the room, we had an opportunity of forming an opinion as to the looks of Malay women, which were decidedly pleasing; a few of the damsels particularly so. Those of our party who had been living long enough to have got over their English prejudices, pointed out two or three whom they declared to be downright handsome. The women of the lower classes have, however, so much household drudgery to perform, that their good looks soon wear out. The men, although small, are strong-limbed and well proportioned; but their features are hard and ugly.

Our bride having been kept in proper suspense for some time, the approach of the bridegroom, who had been fitting out at his relation's (the Bandar's), was announced.

Kassan, having landed from his barge (a new Siamese boat, lent for the occasion by the Rajah), was borne by four men on a kind of chair to the door of the room, preceded by men carrying ornaments of artificial flowers.

On his alighting here, some Hadjis (men who have

made a pilgrimage to Mecca) uttered a prayer, which was three times responded to by the whole assemblage. After this, Kassan struck the threshold of the room with his foot three times ; and then walking up to the bridal couch between two men, he gently touched his future wife over the head with a wand, and placed his right foot in her lap, and then retreating a couple of paces he sat down on the adjoining couch.

Kassan was dressed, as well as his bride, in cloth of gold. He wore silk trowsers, and over them a sarong, short, like a kilt : another sarong, crossing over his right shoulder and under the left arm, and a crown of gold flowers on his head, completed his costume.

As this was all of the ceremony we were allowed to see, we left the room ; in which I understand the wedded pair have to remain shut up for seven days.

* * * * *

Sir James Brooke's journal continued :—

“ At night we had the magic lantern, which afforded much amusement ; my old friend Pang-oum the Orang Kaya Sintah was present. I promised to go and see the Orang Kaya Pamancha at his new location at Marudung, and thence proceed to the Quop to visit Pang-oum's tribe.

“ I am not at home yet in Court, and find much laxness in the details of business.

“ 30th.—Abang Apong, with Lingire and their Serebas party took leave. I have hopes of them.

“ Pang-oum brought a young cocoa-nut for me to spit

into, as usual ; and after receiving a little gold-dust and white cloth, returned home to cultivate his rice-fields.

“ 31st.—The Orang Kaya Lundu arrived as Lingire was departing, and fortunately they did not meet ; for it would have been sad pain to the poor father to have met the slayer of his son.

“ Poor Bunsie was a great favourite of mine ; and I had seen him grow up, from the little boy, as I described him * presenting me with a white fowl on my first visit to Lundu, into the fine handsome warrior, who was slain at Paku. He was of a mild disposition, and amiable character, and far different from his brother Tujang, whose death has been a blessing to his tribe ; for he was of a fierce, ardent temper, arrogant and overbearing, loving war and strife ; and, although possessed of many virtues, yet distinguished by qualities which rendered him an unsafe man in peaceful times. He had already passed beyond the control of his father, and domineered over his milder brothers Kalong and Bunsie ; and the struggle for the chieftainship on the father's death would have only had the effect of breaking up what has been, under the old man's sway, the strongest party of the long-divided tribe of Sibuyow. Now Lundu is prosperous and rising ; and I propose to make it more prosperous still ; for, there being no inhabitants in the interior, no Dyaks who might be injured, it will be an admirable locality for the Chinese. Gold has been found there ; and the Chinese from Sambas

* See “ Keppel's Borneo.”

are anxious to work it. The soil is represented as excellent ; and as large a Chinese population as chooses may be established.

“ Two Chinese men, Akin and Assan, came with the Orang Kaya. They, with about sixty men, women, and children, fled from Sipang on its capture by the Tiquong, and are badly off. These may form a nucleus : at any rate I shall try ; and with a European ruler Lundu will rise into a second Sarāwak.

“ Sarāwak seems to have taken the shoot upward which I had expected long ago : but confidence is of slower growth than I anticipated ; and piracy has been a great drawback. I may mention, too, that the effect on the Dyaks of a freedom from oppression has been just the *reverse* of what I expected. The freedom from oppression, the reduction of taxation, the security for life and property, has made them *lazy*. I always thought that it would have made them industrious, and eager to improve their condition. This error is a common one ; and probably most men in England would have fallen into it as well as myself. More of this another time ; but, lazy or industrious, the right principle should (and shall) be persevered in ; for the right principle is based on the solid rock. If the first step is laziness, the second will be improvement, the third industry.

“ The lazy, comfortable, well-fed Dyaks, who have no occasion to work for others, and no wish to work for themselves, who have arrived at the summit of human

felicity, as depicted in their imaginations, form no ungrateful picture for the mind to rest upon : and now, before they labour to satisfy their wants, they must be taught new wants, arising out of an improved social state. Would I labour in order to possess palaces paved with gold, and studded with precious stones ? No, certainly not, for I should not value such a lodging. Why, then, should the Dyak work to obtain a silver spoon, or a silver platter, when a plantain leaf and five-pronged hand are sufficient for his wants ? There is a point of social developement which begets healthy wants and desires ; and to this point the Dyak has not arrived.

“ There is, besides this, a condition of sterner want, begotten by the very progress of social advancement, which we know in England and Ireland ; and God forbid the Dyak should come to that state of penury, which has ever been seen in contrast, and, perhaps, must ever contrast frightfully with a high degree of civilisation. There are some philosophers who harp on the terms “ *industry* ” and “ *work*,” as though these two words comprised the sum total of human happiness—work ! work ! work ! and when the weary head reposes, what is gained ? Why, food ! Now if food can be obtained without ceaseless labour, is it not better that the poor man should relax from toil ? Is there not a greater hope of moral and intellectual fruit when want is not always pinching us, or staring us in the face ?

“ I believe that stern and ceaseless toil keeps man as nearly as possible to the level of the brute. I say then, let the Dyak be happy—let him eat his fill of the rice he grows. He has pigs beneath his house—he feasts at stated periods—he is not driven to labour for others. The jungle is his own, he enjoys the chase, he is rich in his own estimation, and he is happy. Why should he toil when he does not want—when he has no desire to gratify—no hope to realize? He is content and well-fed. The time will come when events, chasing each other in the world, will advance his intellectual powers ; the infant state of the race will progress to manhood ; the Dyaks will improve morally and socially, and be creatures capable of appreciating a higher order of enjoyment. But it is time, and time alone, can do this ; the whole province of Government is to afford them protection, and to prevent them from injuring others ; and taxation, that inevitable result of Government, must be apportioned to their laziness. They must not be *forced* to work : no ! not even to pay the taxes that may not appear burdensome. They must not be forced to work—no ! though civilised men and wise may think it for their good. In these principles I am firm and steadfast.

“ Philanthropists would improve the Dyaks by teaching the women to sew, and the men to manufacture piece-goods. Experience will leave them to advance, content that they enjoy, and fearful of applying rules which may injure and not benefit them.

“ The giant Improvement goes forth under the school-master Philanthropy, with all civilised appliances ; but savages will not be hurried into his views by patent processes. We must let the Dyak in his playground play innocently as long as he likes, eat and drink, and be merry. His lessons must be light at first ; and when he arrives at man’s estate he shall put off foolish things, and know that he has a mind and a God. In that God let me trust, who has placed me here as the Dyak’s guide.

“ On the 4th I visited by invitation the new settlement of Marudung, where the branch of the Sibuyows, commanded by the Orang Kaya Pamancha, has been located for about four years.

“ I was joyously received ; visited the different houses ; made them a present, as usual, of a little gold, some white cloth, and, as is the custom amongst them, sufficient iron to make each man a sword, which is here equivalent to a plough ; for in fact the Dyak uses his sword for turning up the soil, and it is his plough. This is the first year they have paid revenue.

“ The place is well chosen, the soil very rich, and the rice grown by this tribe is the finest in Sarāwak, as fine as I have ever seen in any country.

“ The Orang Kaya and his people confess themselves to be very comfortable. They made merry during the day, and in the evening were stupid : but partial intoxication, which is the only stage they arrive at by the use of their fermented liquors, never leads to anything like riot.

“ During the feast, Luang (a Dyak of the tribe) was very inquisitive to hear of my reception in Siam ; after giving him a brief account, I mentioned by chance that we had returned to Sincapore along the coast of the Malayan States of Patani, Tringanu, &c., upon which he remarked that he had been along that coast, had passed the mouth of the Menam, and extended his voyage to the shore of Cambodia. ‘ You ! ’ I asked in astonishment, ‘ How did you manage to get there ? ’ He replied that he had accompanied the Lanuns on a piratical cruise, being sent by Sheriff Sahib of Sadong. The Orang Kaya took up the conversation, and detailed many of the piracies committed by his portion of the Sibuyows, whilst located at Sadong, and concluded by saying, ‘ We were sent out, and could not refuse ; but if you want to know all about piracy, there (pointing to Abang Hassan, a Malay,) is one of Sheriff Sahib’s panglimas.’ Upon this a long conversation followed ; and I was certainly struck with the details of the manner in which these Dyaks were gradually trained to the trade of piracy.

“ On the morning of the 5th they washed the feet of all our party in cocoa-nut-water ; and there was the ceremony of waving the fowl, and invoking blessings on the tribe. We then started for the Quop at nine o’clock ; and after a three hours’ walk in a killing sun, took refuge in a dangow, or temporary hut, till the intense heat had passed away. At four, after a delicious bathe on the way up the hill, we arrived at the house, where our dear old Orang

Kaya Pang-oum had made all sorts of preparations for our reception. It is highly gratifying to witness the plenty and comfort which reign among these people, and their unbounded—even superstitious—confidence in me.

“Some trivial recurrence to the old system of *serra*,* has been allowed to creep in during my periods of absence ; and this must be amended ; but, on the whole, the Dyaks are at the summit of their ideas of happiness. Rice, pigs, children, and fruit-trees abound ; what more does a Dyak need ?

“After our dinner, I fell fast asleep in the midst of the fowl-waving, dancing, and gonging ceremonies ; and ever and anon, as I awoke through the long night, I saw the dim figures in the uncertain light, pacing their minuet close to me, or heard the melancholy song of the female chorus, filling up the pauses of the louder clang of gongs and tom-toms. It looked shadowy and unreal ; but still, overcome with fatigue, I slept an unquiet sleep.

“The 6th November up at daylight. Superintended the planting of a post or flagstaff, and was exhorted to spit on lumps of rice, and to feed the children, the women, and aged men.

“Four miles’ walk before breakfast brought us to the landing-place, and we reached Kuching at two o’clock, after a short and agreeable excursion.”

* Forced taxation.

CHAPTER XVII.

SINIAWAN — DYAKS GRATEFUL — BOW — THE TEMPLE — KUNSI — THE PARIT — CONTENDING INTERESTS SETTLED — THE MILLANOWS — ARISTOCRATIC THING — DELINQUENCIES OF BANDAR KASSIM OF SADONG — FISHING — SUPERSTITION AS TO THE FISH PÜTTIN — CHURCH AT SARAWAK — DAILY LIFE THERE — COURT — CONFERENCES WITH THE COMPANY — SUICIDE BY A CHINAMAN — SIR JAMES BROOKE UNWELL, DECIDES ON VISITING ENGLAND — SHERIFF MOKSAIN — HIS EVIL DEEDS AT SAKARRAN — DEMAND FOR EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT — VISITS FROM CHIEFS — ADVICE TO THEM — EUROPEAN GOVERNOR PROMISED — REVENUE.

“SATURDAY, 9th November, started at 4 a.m, reached Leda Tannah at seven, breakfasted, and proceeded to Siniawan—thence to Tundong. The Chinese locations about here are fifteen in number.

“There is but one feeling amongst the Sow, Sarambo, Bombak and Paninjaw Dyaks against the Chinese ; Singé is more favourably disposed.

“The banks of the river near Singé were shaded by numerous flowering trees and shrubs, presenting a beauteous sight. The approach to Siniawan always interests me, and recalls the operations against my present friends, and best supporters. Kassim, in passing the

Dampar creek, related to me his capture, the slaughter of two other poor boys who were with him, and his subsequent sufferings.

“Ingratitude is a common vice to tax men with ; but I can safely say that from Kassim, and all the rest of the Siniawans, I have met with gratitude and kindly feeling ; that is, such gratitude as we have a right to look for from *men*, and not of that sentimental quality which panders to vanity, or is exacted whenever a benefactor is out of humour.

“From Tundong we walked a short five miles to Bow ; our long procession was met half way by a Chinese guard of honour, who fired guns, and beat the most discordant gongs and other instruments, that ever jarred on mortal ears. Coupling their name of Celestials with their musical attainments, we may conclude that the choir of a Chinese heaven is very unsuited to our present notions.

“Bow is not so comfortable as it ought to be ; but still there is an industrious aspect—a new substantial house, with fine Balian posts and attaps ; but it is only a show-house—a kungsi-house—a devil-house, without any comfort or convenience.

“The temple is in the centre ; on each side is a room where the workmen sleep ; and above these again they are thickly stowed away, on floors beneath the roof. Without is an open shed, where the range of cooking-pans is placed, about and around which the kungsi-folk and

labourers sit and eat, and drink tea. In fact it is a monastic establishment, without the privacy of cells, or the devotion of the chapel. The fugitives from Sipang and Pamangkat are located in temporary huts, close to the kungsi establishment, and they wash for gold in the old parits of the kungsi.

“My object in coming here was to know what the Chinese are about ; to reduce them under government ; and to protect the Dyaks ; and I wish likewise to remove as many of them as I can to the sea-board.

“There are justice and revenue in opposite scales : I wish to encourage the Chinese, but it must not be at the expense of the Dyaks. The Chinese will develop the resources of the country, as they are active and industrious ; but they must be located where they cannot encroach on the poor and simple aborigines.

“10th, Sunday. Took a stroll in the morning to the pond which supplies water for the gold works, and thence we saw an old parit, and a parit just making. The parit is a narrow boarded trench, through which the water is led ; and close to this trench the workmen dig the alluvial soil which they throw into the water, the gold being deposited, the refuse carried off. Numbers of fugitives were at work, washing for gold in the forsaken trenches ; and though it is unpleasant, and scarcely remunerative, they seemed merry enough.

“Breakfast over, I had the three writers, with other Chinese of some respectability, to a conference.

“ We were surrounded by a large crowd ; I made all my demands in due form, and all were complied with ; but the difficulty is in the detail of execution, and not in the wholesale of words. The principal demands were,—that the kungsi was not to aim at governing, nor to receive revenue, but was frankly, freely, and unreservedly, to acknowledge the authority of the Government of Sarāwak. That it was to appoint a Captain China, whilst I was to appoint a Captain Inglis, who were jointly to superintend the affairs and proceedings of the company in the interior.

“ That the kungsi were not to decide any cases of dispute or crime, excepting among their own people ; and then only for misdemeanours of a light description.

“ That the kungsi were not to take Dyak lands, nor to open any new parit, without permission. That all malefactors demanded were to be given up, &c. &c.

“ These terms being agreed on, the space of ten days was fixed, at their request, when they were to come to Kuching, to acquaint me who was to be the Captain, and what the mode of transferring revenue to Government, which has been heretofore levied by the Kungsi on the Chinese in the interior.—At the same time I directed them to send down the great mass of the new comers, and not to allow of small Chinese locations in different directions ; and I informed them that I would on no account allow Chinese to farm lands in the interior. This being concluded, we parted on the most friendly terms,

and I set off for Pankalan Bow, attended by my discordant band, and the one, two, three, cracking of gingalls.

“Ten minutes’ walk brought Brooke * and myself to the landing place ; and a small boat borrowed for the occasion being in waiting, we dropped down the river to Tundong. At Bow the small river of that name joins the main stream, bringing down the *débris* of the gold works, and tainting the clear and transparent water for many miles below.

“The overarching trees on rocky banks, the stream, here rippling over rocks and pebbles, and there swelling into placid progress, present as sweetly sylvan a scene as man would wish to gaze on. The sunbeams flickered through the foliage ; and lazily reclining I enjoyed myself till we reached Tundong, and joined the rest of our party. Here we found some hundred and fifty or two hundred Dyaks, fully armed, awaiting us, but too late for the conference. I was ill pleased with this display of Meta’s pretended zeal, and the real design of hostile demonstration ; and I should have walked them all back to the place whence they came, had they arrived earlier : but as it was, we all started on our way home, and the Dyaks would soon follow.

“From all that I have seen, the injury done to the Dyaks is in a great measure imaginary, and by no means justifies their complaints.

* Captain Brooke, nephew of Sir James Brooke.

“The principal Chinese location of Bow the Dyaks have not used within the memory of man. Salingok does not deprive them of one farm ; and the small locations of eight or ten Chinese are scarcely worth mentioning ; yet for all this I do not wish to locate numbers of Chinese in the interior ; and their diffusion here and there in small nuclei renders them difficult to govern. It is however attention to details, which must keep the Chinese and the Dyaks in check. The Chinese must not be allowed to injure the Dyak, but the Dyak must not monopolize tracts of land which he cannot use,—like a “dog in the manger.”

“At three our party arrived at Leda Tannah ; and after dining started for home at nine, where we arrived at half-past twelve.

“14th.—Quietly at home : the days in Court ; the evenings generally crowded with visitors. I received a long message from Pangeran Mat-Ali, of Oya, who is really, I believe, a good man. I was rejoiced to hear that the civil dissensions in the rivers of Oya and Muka had ceased for the present. I wrote to both these Pangerans, *i.e.* to Mat Ali and his cousin Ursat, encouraging them in the path of good Government. The Millanows, whom they govern, are a quiet people—unwarlike, but with many strange and barbarous habits.

“On the 12th, I had a Sheriff, a nephew of the Sultan of Pontiana,—a man of the very highest rank in these countries *below the wind*—before me in Court, accused of a petty theft. He had come from Singapore ; and, not

being able to pay the passage-money, had prigged a gold bracelet from the house of a Pontiana woman, whom he had honoured with his presence. I read him a lecture, told him shame was in crime, and that he was covered with shame, and in his high position must feel having been found guilty of theft in Court ; that a poor man would be flogged or imprisoned for the offence, but that a person of exalted birth, the son of a Sultan, would, if he had any right feeling, any sense of shame, be sufficiently punished by disgrace, and exposure, and guilt. I therefore directed him to be kept in jail, till an opportunity occurred for sending him back to the place whence he came ; I afterwards let him out on bail.

“ My countrymen who sat in Court with me thought I had been too lenient in this sentence—I did not, and do not think so : the crime was the lightest description of theft : laws are never equally applied ; and if they were, there would be no justice. An officer is not flogged for getting drunk as the common soldier is : the crime is the same, but the punishment would be unequal. A blood horse feels one lash more than a donkey feels a dozen : a man of birth and education, however degraded, feels punishment more acutely than the man, whose moral perceptions have never been awakened. This is a feeling which should be cherished ; and the feeling of shame is found acute in the Malayan race : it is not found in the Chinese : it is a moral sense ; and a moral punishment can be applied ; and when this moral sensitiveness and

moral punishment become more general, through the medium of moral education, or by any other means, then the law will be disarmed of its brutal inflictions, and justice will be more equalised to the outward senses : but there can be no justice, where punishment is equally applied to all classes of men for the same offences. ‘Fine, or Tread-mill,’ says the magistrate in Bow Street. The gentleman pays the fine, and, if he be a gentleman, feels the disgrace. The hardened man feels not, but treads his weary round of a month. This distinction is as near an approach to justice, as human beings can arrive at, and this is the distinction I made in the case of the Sheriff. Had I flogged him ever so lightly, I should have been unjust most probably to him, and I should have blunted the fine moral perception of every Malay present. The same moral sense of disgrace, which deters from crime, would have risen in arms against the punishment ; and every Malay present would have been shocked at the severity, and felt the injustice.

“Last evening came the Sennah and Sinangkan Dyaks, and put me in a fever of indignation at the practices of that wretch Bandar Kassim of Sadong, who has once again been at his paltry intrigues to bully and oppress. Stopped it must be, and stopped it shall be.

“15th. I got up, with my indignation against Bandar Kassim cooled, but all the more resolute in my purpose of checking his career of folly, meanness, and crime, in Sadong. What pains have I not taken with this man !

Oppressed as he and the Sadong people were by the residence of Sheriff Sahib in their country, and by his harsh and arbitrary Government, I recommended this man—then Abong Kassim—to Muda Hassim, and got him made Bandar. He had the sole charge of all the Sadong Dyaks, and the Government of the Malays. He paid no revenue to Bruné, and was never interfered with from Sarāwak ; and without an evil course he might easily have made a thousand a-year, and with an increasing revenue have seen his people happy. How often did I instruct, beseech, reprove this man, to keep him in the right path ! How long have I borne with him, in the hope that he would awake to his own interests, and perceive the madness and the folly of a wrong course ! All in vain : weak-minded, and short-sighted, the idiot has mistaken forbearance for weakness, remonstrance for idle words, and pardon for a proof of his own power. Oppressions, exactions, robberies, misgovernment, injustice, violence were all forgiven five years ago. His interference with the Dyaks of Sadong, who had fled and found protection in Sarāwak, gave rise to a strong remonstrance, and orders to forbear ; but the fool cannot and never could forbear. When I went to England, the intrigues of Duna Lelah, Sheriff Jaffer, and Sheriff Ahmed, dispossessed him of power at Sadong. I returned, and reinstated him, with fresh cautions, and fresh instructions. Nevertheless he secretly ordered his Dyaks to invade Sangow ; and bloodshed followed. I, too busy to attend

in detail, ordered him to repair this great wrong ;—He never did so ; and, about a year and a half ago, numerous other cases of barefaced spoliation of Dyaks and Malays being brought forward, I removed him from Sadong, and with the consent of the Brune Rajahs placed his brother Abang Leman in charge. Abang Leman is as foolish as Bandar Kassim, weak and imbecile, and the change was not attended with good. Leman, if he had had the will, had not talent nor resolution for the task. A year ago I allowed the Bandar to return to Sadong to live privately. Both he and Leman before lived at Sarāwak at least half their time, being married to the Datu Patingue's niece and daughter. Bandar Kassim returned to Sadong ; and now I hear anew that he is tampering right and left with the Dyaks, coaxing some, intimidating others, interfering with our border Dyaks, and organising a fresh attack on the Sangow people,—thus undoing all that I have done to put an end to the intertribal wars, and to cure the Dyaks of their propensity for head-taking. Already has the former assault got up by him caused retaliation on one of the Sadong tribes ; already the whole fabric is endangered ; and it can be preserved by the strong hand alone ; and all this the work of an idiot, with a little cunning. I contented myself with writing an order for Bandar Kassim to appear before me, and a second letter to Pangeran Paduka, the ruler of that part of the Sangow country, on the Dyak business. Thus I await events. But Bandar Kassim has reached the end

of his tether, his time of grace is past ; the measure of his crimes is full, and he must be restrained or brought to trial. Sadong must have a Government, the Dyaks must be protected, and some revenue raised for the Rajahs of Bruné.

“ 18th. Friday.—My day of rest ; the Mahomedan day of prayer. I made it quite a day of ease, but in the evening had a large assembly.

“ The Orang Kaya, Tumangong of the Sibuyows settled at Samarahan came, about the dreadful murder perpetrated on a family of his tribe in that river some months ago, during my absence, when three out of the four men suspected made their escape from our prison, after being apprehended. I promised him to catch the men again, and bring them to open trial ; and this very morning I had heard of their being at Kaluka and Sakarran. The repeated complaints of the Malays at Sakarran against Sheriff Moksain (or Hussein), and his complaints against them, determined me to send Cruikshank and Charlie Grant to inquire into the matter. One thing appears certain, namely that, whoever may be right and whoever wrong, the Government I had proposed under this Sheriff is a dead failure ; he is at strife with the people and the people are at strife with him.

“ Talking after dinner of fishing, the Orang Kaya Tumangong just mentioned, declared there were more fish in the Sampun than any other river on the coast ;

and speaking of particular kinds of fish he related the following story.

“The Sibuyows never eat the puttin, on account of an old tradition in their tribe. ‘One day a Dyak was fishing and caught only a single puttin, which he gave to a Malay at whose house he landed to procure a light for his pipe. On his coming back to get the fish, the fish was no longer there ; but crouched in the bottom of his canoe was a pretty little girl. The good Dyak was greatly astonished at this transformation, but carried the little girl home, where she was brought up with the family, and grew to be a woman ; and in due course married her finder’s son. No peculiarity was observed in her conduct ; she was like any other Dyak woman, and made a good wife ; she pounded the rice, drew the water, made mats, and conducted the affairs of the household with propriety and neatness. After a time she bore her attached husband a son, and suckled the boy till he could run about ; when one day, being at the edge of the water with the boy and her husband, she suddenly said to him, ‘Here, take the child ; be kind to him for he is my child ; I have been a good wife, but I must now rejoin my own tribe ;’ and thus saying she plunged into the river and became once more a puttin’.

“I then in turn related the story of the cat turned into a Princess ; other traditions both of Malays and Dyaks followed, and it was twelve o’clock when I went to bed.

“ 17th.—Yesterday was a day of penance for my late hours.

“ Cruikshank, Charlie Grant, and Lee, started for Sakarran at two o'clock. It is the first time Charlie has gone from me, since he joined three years ago ; but it is right to make him independent, to burden him with responsibility, to let him judge for himself. The higher and nobler exercise of duty is not to be acquired in a dependent post.

“ In the evening, not feeling well, I stayed in my own room, though we had a small party ; at night the flood of moonlight poured over the vegetation, and lighted up tree and shrub. The voyagers were no doubt making the best of it, and enjoying themselves. I almost envied them.

“ 18th.—Yesterday was Sunday. I went to church, and was pleased at our congregation and the service ; with the attention and interest which all seemed to take in what was going on ; and with the little Chinese children, and the other little children, neither English, nor Chinese, nor Dyak, and yet innocent little children too.

“ McDougall preached on the Lord's Supper.

“ 19th.—How pleasing is this life of usefulness and repose ! and each day, as I stay here and reduce business, its pleasures are enhanced.

“ The moderately early rising (half-past six or seven) ; the reading, sometimes serious, sometimes light, sometimes in train, sometimes desultory, before ten ; then breakfast,

writing, or private interviews till twelve. Office for two, three, or more hours ; sometimes the gentle nap induced by a dull book ; the freshness of the evening, with its stroll, or ride ; the quiet dinner, and the native crowd and conversation afterwards till ten, P.M. ; then my own room, book, thoughts, and bed ; and, as I lie down, I feel grateful for many blessings, and close my eyes with confidence.

“ After breakfast I had a case in Court, which, being of a pawnbroking character, I decided in an off-hand manner, much to my satisfaction.

“ While I was in Court Sheriff Muller arrived ; but it being two o'clock, and feeling suddenly quite out of order, I returned home and laid myself down, and read of all the injuries which insects inflict on man ; and this made me more squeamish than before. I often feel these sudden fits, half faintness, half sickness, come over me for a time.

“ In the evening I had Sheriff Muller and the other sheriffs from Sakarran, looking miserable and silent.

“ 20th.—In the morning I met the writers of the Company, who said all that was proper to be said, and duly appointed Atiow to be Captain China, whilst, on my part, I appointed Steele Captain Inglis. These two Captains will transact all the business between the Kungsi and the government, and between the Kungsi and the Dyaks. We shall know where the Chinese live, how many there are, and what the general feeling is. If our captain is a clever

young fellow, he will gain the confidence of the Chinese in the interior, and thus smooth our path. This is the first and great step. The agreement was re-written and re-read, and ratified. Atiow's appointment is satisfactory; for, though he cannot live many months, yet he is an honest and fair man, speaks Malay well, and has the confidence of all parties. Opium-smoking is his bane. He is shrivelled, tottering, and with lungs affected.

"I had a long talk with Sheriff Muller (or properly and henceforth Mullah). The complaints against Sheriff Moksain are numerous, and I fear too well founded. Sheriff Mullah I rather like; and people say he was always a kind man at Sakarran, and passive rather than active as a pirate. He took what came to his share, but did not originate the system; nor did he endeavour to check it. His brother, Sheriff Sahib, was the active power.

"22nd.—Court business, but not important. McDougall came down to say that a Chinaman, who had poisoned himself, lay dead at his house, and that none of his relations would bury him. What was he to do? Hereat I waxed indignant, sent for the relations, and dealt roundly with them, so that they buried the corpse. It appeared that the man poisoned himself, and there was concerned a woman, a silver pipe, and a ring. The relations of the deceased declared that he committed suicide because the woman had taken the ring and pipe;

but this cause scarcely accounts for the deed ; and probably it was a case of love and jealousy. It is all to be tried on Saturday.

“ 28th.—Thus far I wrote, feeling in my usual health,—weakly, but cheerful : on the 23rd I was ailing slightly ; on the 24th my old enemy the ague returned, and I have since been prostrate in strength, though rallying a little in health. Under these circumstances I have not hesitated in deciding at once on proceeding to England directly. Here I am useless : my sickly efforts exhaust my frame ; and the claims on my attention daily call for exertions beyond my power. I may by this step regain health and strength to continue my work ; and the confidence I have in Brooke renders my absence comparatively safe and easy. Delay would in all probability bring no fitter opportunity ; and thus I turn my face to Europe.

“ The day before yesterday came Bandar Kassim ; yesterday arrived Sheriff Moksain, preceded the night before by our party. There is enough against both these Governors of provinces to smash them a dozen times over. Bandar Kassim was always a weak, mean rogue. Sheriff Moksain (*vulgo* Hussein), on the contrary, has abilities, has lived near me ever since I had sway in Sarāwak, and has known me, one would have thought, well enough to know the danger of going wrong. The policy was so clear and so well defined, that he ought not to have missed his way ; a fool might have seen it ; but with his eyes open he has taken the flowery

path of wrong, and blown into a great man when he should still have been a folded bud. The sheriffs and their followers, who had suffered so severely from former abuse of power and from piracies, one would naturally have thought he would have made his friends; they were thoroughly humbled, would have been grateful for kindness, and were of his own race and class; these, instead of befriending and attaching, he has alienated by his haughtiness and assumption of superiority; and nothing marks the man more than the act of placing his seal at the head of a letter addressed to Sheriff Mullah,—a man of advanced age, his equal in every respect, and his superior in native eyes in most. It is an arrogance that Sheriff Moksain knew I was never guilty of myself, and a style never used by Muda Hassim or others of the royal family of Bruné, towards a sheriff of Mullah's rank and age. Further than this, however, he has tampered with their slaves, ripped up old sores, and not only wounded their pride, and injured their interests, but he has excluded them from all share in politics and government.

“Thus the experiment of government, as far as Tuanku Sheriff Moksain is concerned, is a failure; and there is not a man in the Malay Kampong who trusts him or likes him. His power, they all say, is his commission from me; and that he makes the most unbounded use of my name there can be no doubt. The Dyaks, however, the Sheriff has propitiated, and how? By lavishing upon them

presents of all sorts, to gain their hearts or their voices ; but it is doubtful whether he gains their obedience or their respect. Thus he has played the Dyaks against the Malays,—a dangerous game at all times, and in his position a fatal one ; for he was originally posted at Sakarran to guard the fort, and to prevent the Dyaks from going forth. As instances of particular crimes of which he has been guilty, I may mention his unjust rule of fining men for the smallest fault : one man he fined because he dropped down the river without acquainting him of his intention. He has deprived people of their slaves, and made them his own slaves.

“ His extravagance has so involved him in debt and distress, that he cannot be honest if he would. He has sold the arms belonging to me, lent him for use in the fort ; and, worse than all, he has reduced a family to slavery, who were declared free in Sarāwak. Away with him ! he is convicted ; he has broken by his misrule the net of good government which I am trying to establish ; and he must be removed.

“ Fortunately, through all this year of misrule and misconduct, the Malays of Sakarran have behaved with great patience and forbearance ; and the Dyaks have shown every wish to continue peaceful, and to abandon their piratical habits.

“ All alike cry out for the government of a European ; and a European they shall have, if I can find out the way. He, or rather they (for there must be two) are to

live as best they can for the first two years ; after that time there will be no difficulty ; the country will develop itself : trade will increase ; and the revenue will support a small establishment.

“ Had I always resided at Sarāwak, this evil would not have happened ; but, again, had I always resided at Sarāwak, the chance of forming a good government in Sakarran might never have occurred. Were I strong now, I might remedy it more easily. Again, my absence will give stability to Sarāwak and Sakarran,—if the governments be successful,—which, if established by my personal influence alone, they would not possess. So there are reasons *pro* and *con* : but certainly, in regard to permanency, it is to be best insured by transferring my mantle during my life, in a great degree, to my successor. The change then will be natural and easy at my death ; and that it may be so is one great object I aim at, and which I pray God may grant. Alas ! in this life we cannot do the best we wish, but the best we can ; and thus, so weak and ill as I feel, the return to Europe in search of health is the most prudent step I can take ; and, oh ! how many thousands are there, who would be surprised to hear the small yearly sum I can allow myself for my *regal expenses*.

“ I had a quiet dinner with the McDougalls, and enjoyed their conversation in the evening, lying on the couch. It is always sensible, elegant, and soothing.

“ 29th.—I felt better in the morning, after a night of

rain which came down in a quiet, unpretending deluge,—very different from your gusty showers. I listened at intervals during the night, and turned and slept undisturbed by the pattering on the roof.

“After breakfast came Abang Kapi, Abang Ain Gasin, and some fine young Dyaks, a son of Pa Limbang’s amongst them, from Sakarran. Gasin I always liked; he has quite regained his influence, and certainly likes us. There is nothing radically evil about these Dyaks, though their rage for head-taking is a bad one; but this must end in time. Piracy on the high seas was taught them by the Malays, but they learned the art more easily from the cranium propensity. I spoke to these men of good government, of peace, and security, and prosperity; of Sheriff Moksain’s failure, of my little desire to force any government, far less any particular form of government, upon them: that I would put a European or two amongst them to govern properly, and to show and remind them of what was right, if they did wrong; but not to interfere with their customs or religion. I said that murder and theft, and oppression of the Dyaks—piracy and evil-doing, hurtful to all men—the European would put an end to; and would call and consult with the chiefs; but he would not interfere in the details of government, nor harass them with forms and ceremonies.

“A European, I added, must have the means of living; and some revenue must be provided to enable him

to meet the expenses of government, however simple. If this could be managed at first, there was no doubt that time would increase the revenue, as the country increased, and that all would be easy and comfortable.

“This effort quite exhausted me, and proved how utterly weak I am ; not suffering, but prostrate in strength.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

CURIOUS BIRD IN LABUAN DESCRIBED—DYAKS OF KANOWIT AND KATIBAS—MR. BURNS—
 PARTICULARS OF HIS MURDER—LETTERS FROM THE KAYAN CHIEFS OF BARRAN—
 THE KAHAU OR PROBOSCIS MONKEY—CHARACTER AND HISTORY OF KASSIM—POLICY
 AS TO SADONG—SAKARRAN POLITICS—SHERIFF MOKSAIN—UNDOP DYAKS—
 APPROACHING DEPARTURE—REFLECTIONS—UNIVERSAL PEACE—DYAK HISTORIES,
 FEUDS—THE KAYAN TRIBES, CANNIBALS—DYAKS OF JANKANG, ALSO CANNIBALS.

“2ND DECEMBER. The following description of a bird found in Labuan, is curious, and I relate it as I heard it from Low and Brereton.

“The *habitat* is in the woods of Labuan, (query—does it frequent sandy beaches?) the bird is gallinaceous; the egg of enormous size, in proportion to the body of the bird, and this egg is deposited in a hole, which is covered over with dry leaves; and the young one is hatched without parental superintendence. An egg thus found in the jungle was placed in a hole in Low’s garden, and covered over; and some days afterwards the young bird found his way out, already fledged, and was active and lively. I have two of the eggs, and a wretched specimen of the bird. The egg is of the colour of a

rich game-fowl's egg, three inches long, or more, thin and pointed, and considerably larger than a duck's—as big indeed as a small goose's egg.

“ Still ill and weak, but rallying. Excellent news from Kanowit.

“ The Dyaks of Kanowit and Katibus quite willing that a fort should be placed there ; and Kum Nipa, the great Kayan chief, came down himself, and with many professions of friendship, declared his intention, if a government under a European was established, to move down with two thousand families below the rapids, as more convenient for trade ; and thus the Kayan trade of the interior would find an outlet.

“ Kum Nipa declared that Mr. Burns had everywhere given himself out as my son, and thus Kum Lassa had been induced to marry his daughter to him. Heaven bless me if I had such a son, or such a relative !”

* * * * *

I here interrupt Sir James Brooke's journal to give some account of this unfortunate Mr. Burns, who was finally murdered by pirates in Maludu Bay. Mr. Hume's witness *Miles* (see Chapter XII.) alludes to him, for the sake of complaining that Sir James Brooke had removed him from the Bintulu River to Labuan. He was a disreputable adventurer ; but by means of misrepresentations, such as Sir James alludes to, he obtained in marriage a daughter of one of the chiefs. His proceedings are not worth detailing ; but the subjoined

letter from the Rajahs of Barram to Sir James Brooke, and his reply will give an idea of the mischief which unprincipled Europeans may do among people whom we are hoping to conciliate, to civilise, and to Christianise ; it will also show what was Sir James Brooke's principle of acting with such people, and what a salutary effect it must have already had on their natural impulses, when they refer to *him* as to a just judge, instead of taking the law into their own hands.

The letters are also otherwise interesting, as specimens of such correspondence.

" Mr. Burns," says Sir James Brooke, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston, " is the first Englishman who has ever visited the interesting and important river" (Barram) ; he states also that the conduct of Mr. Burns was the same in every place which he visited, and that he would have been put to death by the Kayan chiefs, had it not been for their consideration towards the English.

THE RAJAHS OF BARRAM TO MR. SCOTT AND MR. LOW.

" This letter from your friends Tamawan, and Tamadin, and Tama-itam-Balari, to Mr. Scott and Mr. Low, who govern the country of Labuan, &c.

" This (letter) is in place of a personal conference with our friends, and (by it) we wish to inform our friends the story of Mr. Burns having entered the country of Barram. We were under the impression that the reason of his

wishing to visit us was to attend to his trade and business, and to deal with us truly in all affairs. We (on our parts) were very anxious to trade after the manner usual amongst merchants ; but this we inform our friends, Mr. Scott and Mr. Low, that Mr. Burns does very treacherously—he wishes to take persons' wives : whether they like it or not, he takes people's wives. And also Mr. Burns ordered us to kill people who enter the river Barram, of whatever description (or race) they be ; whoever enters, it is good to kill them, saying (Mr. Burns) ' whatever you want, Tama-itam-Balari, I will give you ; muskets, ten cases with powder and ball ; and should it ever be inquired into at any future day, I will be responsible for all.' Further, Nakodah Gadore told us to take the whole matter to Labuan, and make it known to Mr. Scott and Mr. Low, but Mr. Burns dissuaded us, saying he himself would bring the matter before the Court.

(Signed)

“ TAMAWAN.

“ *Written on the 17th day of
the month Zul-Hadji.*”

“ TAMADIN.

“ TAMA-ITAM-BALARI.”

SIR JAMES BROOKE TO THE RAJAHS OF KAYAN
AND KIMEAH.

“ To Tamawan, Tamadin, and Tama-itam-Balari, and the other Rajahs of the country of Barram, from Sir James Brooke, &c.

“ (Compliments.)

“ Mr. Scott and Mr. Low have handed to me the letter

my friends sent, relating to the conduct of Mr. Burns, in the Barram River. I request that in future, whenever an Englishman does wrong like Mr. Burns, my friends will order him out of their country, and hold no intercourse with him ; and should he refuse obedience, or otherwise commit crime, or conduct himself badly, my friends can act justly and rightly in support of their authority, and for the protection of their people. Every English trader must obey the Government of the country in which he carries on his business ; and wrong doing must be punished in every country. I trust in the friendship and fairness of the Rajahs of Barram in dealing with white men ; but white men in Barram cannot be permitted to behave like Mr. Burns, or to commit crimes, or to cheat, or to trade unfairly. I hope that my friends, in dealing with white men who come to their country, will distinguish between the good and the bad, and will not admit any person to their friendship and intimacy until they are assured of his honesty, and that he knows how to conduct himself properly. My friends must remember that no trader has any authority to speak upon subjects concerning the Government of the country, or to intrigue, or to spread false reports. Let the traders, therefore, in my friends' country, be confined to their own business ; and if they represent themselves to be great people, possessed of power, or talk as Mr. Burns talked, my friends will know that they speak falsely, and are men without shame.

•

“I hope likewise that my friends, over all the country of Barram, will remember that if any man comes from Labuan or Sarāwak, or any other place, and is a bad man, and if he deals unfairly in trade, he is no follower of the English Government, or of mine. I request my friends will consider what I have said, and have this better explained by many different people. And let my friends Tamawan, Tamadin, and Tama-itam-Balari confide in my friendship, as I confide in theirs, so that the two countries of England and Barram may be as one country. I have received my friends' presents, and send, as a small mark of remembrance, some red cloth. Mr. Scott and Mr. Low send many compliments to my friends.”

The following are the particulars of the murder of Mr. Burns by pirates.

He was engaged at the time on a trading voyage, in the *Dolphin* schooner, which sailed under the British flag, the crew comprising, besides himself as Supercargo, and his Captain, Mr. Robertson, ten Javanese seamen, one Ser-cung Kreemon, and three Jurumudies, in all sixteen persons. They had been up a river in Maludu Bay, and had got outside on their return, when about noon on the 10th September they observed two small prahus pulling towards them. On nearing, their crews said they were traders. There were eleven persons in the two boats that went alongside, six of whom got on the deck of the schooner. They were Lanuns. Mr. Burns told them to stop until he came to an anchor, which he presently did.

They brought some samples of tortoiseshell, camphor, and pearls. They asked for rice and fish, which was given them. No business was done that day. At night they went into their own prahus, and held on astern. A third prahu, in which was Sheriff Hussein, came off. In the morning, at about seven o'clock, ten men again went on board from the prahus. Mr. Burns was aft, on one side of the deck; the Captain (Robertson) was walking the deck on the other side; the crew were forward, getting ready a new jib-boom.

The Malays then handed up a roll of matting, supposed to be for trading, but in which were concealed their swords. Their chief, Memadam, was talking to the Captain. Mr. Burns, sitting down near the wheel, was examining some pearls, when Memadam, snatching a sword from out of the bundle of matting, attacked the Captain, while one, "Si Brahim," at the same moment made a chop at Mr. Burns, nearly severing the head from the body. The remainder of the Lanuns then seized their arms, and made an attack on the crew. Mr. Robertson, having received a cut over the face, ran forward, and got out on the bowsprit—where he was speared, while begging that his life might be spared, and fell into the water. Such of the crew as were forward, with the exception of one jurumudie, who was murdered on deck, then jumped overboard. Mr. Burns's servant-boy was cut down near the foremast. The Captain's nona, a helpless woman, was cruelly butchered in the cabin, when

they nearly severed her head from her body. One of the Javanese seamen was speared in the water. The remainder of the crew were swimming about for nearly an hour, when the pirates called out to them, "Will you sail the ship and live, or refuse and die?" On which they all went on board. At first they had their hands tied, but were afterwards released to get the vessel under weigh.

Sheriff Hussein, of Maludu, was on board the *Dolphin* at the time of the attack, and helped himself to a variety of articles, before quitting the vessel. This was the same young chief, whom I mentioned in a former part of this work, as having come on board the *Mæander* in Maludu Bay, on which occasion he told a plausible story to Sir James Brooke. * After they got outside, they threw the bodies of Burns, his servant-boy, the nona, and the jurumudie overboard. They then mounted the guns, and got up the arms, which had hitherto been stowed in the hold, and a strict watch and guard was kept night and day. They always anchored at night. On the ninth day after leaving Maludu Bay, they arrived in the mouth of the Beng-gaya River, in Labok Bay, and saluted the chief, "Sheriff Yassin," whom they styled "Rajah" with seven guns. The Sheriff then sent a boat on board, and demanded whose vessel it was? One of the pirates replied, "It is our vessel." The Sheriff's men then said it was Tuan Burns's vessel; to which they replied, "No, it belongs to another European."

* See Chapter iv.

It appears that several of the pirates, as well as some of the *Dolphin's* crew, were frequently on shore.

The second day after their arrival, twenty-four of the Sheriff's men went on board. One of them said to the men belonging to the *Dolphin*, "We are sent to take the vessel from the Lanuns ; if they do not give it up we will kill them, so keep clear." The pirates, however, said they would obey the Rajah's orders, and were taken ashore. The schooner was then taken possession of by Sheriff Yassin's men.

When the pirates appeared before Sheriff Yassin, he said to them, "You must give me up the vessel." They replied, "No, it is our good fortune, we will not give up the vessel." On this the Sheriff drew his kris, and killed one of them, named Urow ; and another named Te Krabow was immediately killed by the Sheriff's people. Four others were seized, but were claimed afterwards by a Soloo Datu, who took them away. Memadam, the Chief, who is a Lanun belonging to Tungku, succeeded in escaping into the jungle. When the *Dolphin's* men came on shore, the Sheriff desired one of them, Karnoo, to cut off the dead pirates' heads, which he did, while his companion, Sawall, held their legs : although their bodies had been nearly hacked to pieces, their faces were not touched. Sheriff Yassin said, "These men (pointing to the two dead bodies) were murderers : take their heads, and preserve them either in salt or gin, and take them to Labuan, as an evidence that I have assisted the Europeans."

It was about six weeks after this that the H. C. S. *Pluto* appeared in the bay. She was on her way to the east coast of Borneo, with Mr. Spencer St. John, who was acting commissioner in the room of Sir James Brooke ; they had called in Maludu Bay, where they heard of what had occurred. They had some difficulty in finding Beng-gaya.

The young Sheriff Yassin's conduct appears to have been very praiseworthy. The *Dolphin*, and everything belonging to her, was given up to Mr. St. John. The decks were still stained by the blood of the victims. The cabin doors he had caused to be nailed up, and had kept a strong guard on board to protect her from the Lanuns, who wished to recapture her. She had been at Beng-gaya forty days, during which time Yassin supplied the crew with provisions, &c. It is to be hoped that poor Yassin will not suffer for his temerity, as Beng-gaya is but a short distance from Tungku, one of the principal strongholds of the Lanun pirates. A useless demonstration of our naval forces appears since to have been made at Tungku, which has called forth the threat of a descent on our settlement at Labuan, similar to that made by the Soloos on Balam-bangan in 1775 ; and it is not impossible that they may do it with equal success.

Mr. Burns had been several times on the north-east coast of Borneo for trading purposes, and was incredulous as to the existence of pirates in that quarter. He would thus appear to have fallen a victim to his confidence in the

native character, which led him to neglect the precautions so necessary in visiting all those localities of the Archipelago, where European influence is not firmly established.

This will be as convenient a place as may occur for adding two other letters from the Kayan and Kinneah Rajahs, written in answer to communications from Sir James Brooke, professing his desire that friendly relations should be established, and commerce with their river promoted. He likewise had requested them to desist from making hostile incursions into the territories of the Sultan of Bruné, against whose people they had long carried on an intertribal war. These chiefs, inhabiting a river rich in commercial produce, are represented as being powerful and independent, and, as Sir James Brooke observes, the frank and manly character attributed to them is confirmed by these very characteristic letters :—

RAJAH TAMAWAN OF BARRAM TO SIR JAS. BROOKE.

“This is from Tamawan, who is Rajah in the country of Barram, to the Rajah (Sir James Brooke) who holds the government of Labuan, &c. &c.

“Your friend Tamawan informs you, that the letter which was brought by the Nakoda Godore was received with great honour, and saluted with twenty-one guns; and further, in regard to what the Rajah says in that

letter about the killing people at Limbang, Totong, Belawit, and Meri, the reason of it is that they killed our people formerly ; but now that we have heard the contents of the letter of our friend, the Rajah, our friend need not be under any apprehension that we shall kill them any more, for we have agreed ; Tamawan, who is Rajah in Barram, and all his people and chiefs of the villages Paku, Buang, &c. &c., all these follow, both for good and for ill, Tamawan's government ; but for other people, as those of the villages (or tribes) of Panah, (here follow twelve or fourteen very hard names) these are the names of those who are not under the government of Tamawan, but in the country of Barram ; so that if these people intrigue or kill, Tamawan cannot be answerable, because they are not under his government.

“ If they (his own people) do wrong or kill, Tamawan will be answerable that they shall abide by the decision of the Rajah, with whom he will establish friendship in all truth. At this time Tamawan has very little time for consideration, because, he is making a farm at a river named Babiong, in the middle of the Barram country. As regards our friend the Rajah having ordered Nakodah Mahomed to visit his friend Tamawan, we were not able to meet him ; but our wife named Bubong did, and sent two hundred birds' nests, a shield, a sword, a spear, and other weapons.

“ Thus Tamawan was not only himself of true heart towards the Rajah, but this feeling was also shared in by

his wife, who sent these presents. We have nothing now to send but a sword, a spear, and a shield.

“ Written on the 17th Sawal, on Monday, at 7 o'clock 1265. A. H.”

RAJAH TAMAL OF BARRAM TO SIR JAS. BROOKE.

“ This letter (is) from your friend Rajah Tamal, the nephew of Akam Sassa, and whose wife is the sister of Tama-itam-Balari, and who is the Rajah in the river of Barram, which sovereignty has descended to him from his ancestors.

“ At present (this time) Tama-itam-Balari is also a Rajah, but it is Tamal who manages both good and bad affairs between Kayans and the people of Bruné. With regard to the Rajah's (Sir J. Brooke) letter which Nakodah Gadore brought, it has arrived at Barram, where it was received with great dignity and honour, and under a salute of twenty-one guns. As to the matter of the killing, Tamal and Sing-owdin, and Tama-itam-Balari, together with all the people of Barram, wish to agree, so there may no more be killing either of the people of Limbong, Totong, Belawit, or Meri. The reason why we have formerly killed the people of those countries is, that they in the first place killed our people. Now Tamal and Sing-owdin live at one place ; and Tamal sends to his friend the Rajah (Sir J. Brooke) one sword, one spear, and a hat, with his compliments in thousands. Tama-

itam-Balari sends to his friend the Rajah one sword, one throwing spear, one hat, and one jacket made of leopard skin.

“Written on the festival-day, the 10th day of the month Sawal, at 12 o'clock, 1285. A. H. These are all the things your friend Tamal has sent by Nakoda Gadore.”

SIR JAMES BROOKE'S JOURNAL CONTINUED.

“I resolved too, to place Brereton at Sakarran, if he would undertake this arduous post.

“I have before mentioned at some length the Kahau or Proboscis Monkey, and this account is confirmed in almost every particular by an examination of seven live specimens brought in yesterday. Five of these are females, and two male animals, one full grown but not old, the other half grown. The colouring of these two males is the same as that of the females, and wanting in the variety of colour of the large male I before described. Their noses are the same likewise as the females,—a lump of flesh sticking out nearly at right angles from the face ; whereas the large male had an enormous nose, which after death hung loose and flabby on the face. The brickdust colour of the face is decided. The leaves, fruit, and flowers of the Podada are their favourite food. Their dispositions are remarkably gentle ; and though the most active of their active class, they are somewhat stupid. The hands are grey, not black ; the eyelashes fine and red,

and not easily discerned. The nose has an indented line down the centre, and I think, as the animal grows older, becomes flaccid and drooping, as in the male I have mentioned. I judge so from an elderly lady of the group.

“3rd.—One of my happy family, the large male, was found dead this morning, probably having received a mortal injury from the attempt to escape ; but a female with a young one, and a smaller female supplied his place. The captors declared that the large males were too cunning for them, and would not, like the unsuspecting females, wait till daylight, but marched off in the dark.

“I rose not quite so well as yesterday ; but had a long conversation with Kassim touching the Milikin Dyaks.

“This fine tribe, now inhabiting Sadong, was originally connected with the Sibuyows ; and both these tribes, as well as the Serebas and Sakarran, have a common origin, and descended to the coast from the interior of the Kapuas River. The Sibuyows locating themselves near the sea have become a maritime people ; whilst the Milikin, settling in the interior, know nothing of the ways of the great deep, and navigate nothing larger than a canoe. The Serebas and the Sakarran, like the Milikin, were an inland people, ignorant of seafaring, until the Malays taught them that art and piracy at the same time. Serebas showed the way ; Sakarran, which was a dependency of Kaluka, remained peaceful till the advent of

Sheriff Sahib's father ; when they were initiated in these two accomplishments.

“ In Sheriff Sahib's time they were perfect masters of the trade ; and now I hope they will gradually lose the practice of piracy, without abandoning their character as good and bold seamen.

“ It is remarkable, however, that whilst the Dyaks of Sakarran devoted themselves to piracy, the Dyaks of the Batang Lupa, living in the same country, never became addicted to this vice, and continued a quiet agricultural race. The Kumpang and other Dyaks of this branch of the river may be esteemed, therefore, as representing what the Sakarrans likewise were, about forty or fifty years ago.

“ To return to Kassim and Milikin :—He is a great favourite of mine ; warm and sensitive in temper, grateful, willing, hard-working, gay, yet with excellent sense, and a degree of proper pride which is often wanting in men of higher standing and rank : and yet Kassim is a gentleman by descent as well as in feeling. His history is curious :—Having become an orphan when a mere child, he fell into the hands of the Datu Tumangong, his relative, and was not over-well treated. At the outbreak of the rebellion, he followed his cousin as a matter of course, being then about twelve years of age ; and about a year before my arrival in the country, whilst in a canoe fishing with two other boys, he was set upon by a boat with half-a-dozen men of the opposite party ; his two companions

were killed, and himself captured. Muda Hassim, he told me, was angry at the other boys being killed, but had no compassion on him. He was chained without covering, and exposed to sun and rain at the entrance of the Balei or Hall. Very often he had not enough to eat ; and, even in the depth of his misery, he seems to have felt the jeers and the threats of the brutes about Muda Hassim, more than his physical sufferings. ‘Ah!’ Kassim said to me but a few days since, when pointing out the spot where he was taken, ‘I never knew before or since what real suffering was ; I was worse off than any beast in the jungle ; I was starved, naked, beaten, abused, and threatened, and chained down to the floor!’ Three or four months this captivity had endured, when, on my arrival, he was removed to the open shed at the landing-place ; and, though still chained, a bit of cloth was thrown to him wherewith to cover his nakedness, and the quantity of food was increased. He was right glad to see a white man ; and I well remember the poor youth, with shrivelled legs, emaciated face, wondering eyes, and swollen body, who was a state prisoner.

“Months more passed away ; till, my influence being in the ascendant, I got him released, after many times being refused. Kassim was then made over to Abdullah, the old Parsee, and went with him to Sincapore in my company. In Sincapore he fled to my house greatly alarmed, declaring that the old man was going privately to sell him as a ‘*servant*.’ I reminded Abdullah of the penalty

attached to buying and selling men in our settlement ; and hinted at his procuring a free passage to his native place, Bombay. Kassim continued with me ; returned to Sarāwak in the *Royalist* ; and after a few months I begged him from the Rajah, and he became a free man,—or rather boy,—for he was not more than fourteen years of age. Kassim after that time lived in my establishment, and did not acquire the vices of Europeans with their manners. When grown up, he left me, took unto himself a wife, and set up on his own account ; but neither party was quite satisfied with this arrangement. Kassim was useful, and always in request ; and on his part he had become so acquainted with us, that he was always about the premises, or on boating excursions, much to the neglect of his own business as a small trader : so he came back, got a salary, and was attached to the court, where he has been very useful ever since. In time, however, I was anxious to advance Kassim, for he well deserved it ; and not being able to find a better office for him, I gave him charge of the Milikin Dyaks, under the following circumstances :—The misery of the Dyak tribe of Milikin rose to the utmost height, when they were under Sheriff Sahib ; and they were equally ill-used by Bandar Kassim. It was the old story over again,—taxation, exaction, oppression, slavery ; till, after in vain trying to gain fair usage for them, I took them last year under my own protection, not intending to derive any benefit but to confer it. To protect and manage these poor

Dyaks, I appointed Kassim, and he has done it right well.

“ I allot to him the sole right of trade in bees'-wax and mats, for which, however, I make him pay a *fabulous price*. He places five of his relations at Milikin to watch details, and divides the profits into three shares, two of which go to them, and one to himself ; the whole amount brings about thirty-five or forty pounds sterling clear profit.

“ The revenue of this tribe, when it shall have recovered from the immediate effects of oppression, will amount to five hundred passus of padi, or in money, three hundred rupees, or about twenty-seven pounds sterling ; half of which, in justice, should go for care and collection, and half I propose to give to the Sultan and Rajahs of Borneo, who do not deserve it.

“ If the governors owe something to the governed, if taxes be given for protection, then the Government of Bruné deserves nothing ; for their part of the compact has not been fulfilled : indeed, for twenty or thirty years, they have received payment for what they did not perform.

“ Sadong, like numerous other rivers, has been without a government, and though not deserving, the former rulers may gain by my placing good men in charge, and affording security to the harassed inhabitants. This, in time, may improve,—by keeping Milikin in my own hands, and under Kassim's superintendence, two very good objects are gained :—

“ First. It will prevent the Datu oppressing the other

Dyak tribes—for my Dyaks will be the standard of comparison ; and it will enable me to judge what can be paid to Bruné.

“ Secondly. It will render a good and faithful man comfortable.

“ Now let me turn to Sakarran : Sheriff Moksain has, it is true, behaved badly and foolishly, and plunged himself into debt. There is no excuse for him ; but at the same time he has managed the Dyaks well, and gained their confidence ; and as Gassim and the other Dyaks have applied for his services, I am induced to consider it the best plan in my power to permit Sheriff Moksain to remain at Sakarran under Brereton and Lee. That he will be useful I do not doubt ; he is humbled, and by moderate prudence he will be able to pay his debts by degrees.

“ Brereton’s government must get on at first as well as it can ; he will not have the difficulties I had to encounter at Sarāwak ; and, if the income is small, the outlay will likewise be small ; and time will improve the former more than in proportion to the latter. A certain indirect revenue on salt, and a direct revenue from the Dyaks on rice, besides other small items, will bring the amount up to two hundred or three hundred, for the first few years. Both Brereton and Lee will have a small sum yearly to live upon ; and out of what they get, and I can afford to supply, they can pay their establishment of half-a-dozen men, and afford the Tuanku enough to keep

him comfortably. The more they can afford to spare him, the better servant he will be.

“ After Gassim had left me I had three Undop Dyaks. This fine tribe, living in the fine country on the Undop River, which is a branch of the Batang Lupar, below Sakarran, were attacked some five years ago by the Serebas Malays and Dyaks, assisted by a party of Malays from Salimbow, in the so-called Dutch territory on the Kapuas. They are brave men ; but, being quite over-matched, they were broken and driven, part of them to Linga, part to Salimbow. These poor fellows had come from the latter place, and wanted a letter to Pangeran Mahomed, who rules there, requesting him to let them return to their own lands. Poor fellows ! they got the letter, and some clothes, and rice, and salt, to feed them on their journey back. In describing their residence at Salimbow, they did not complain of much bad treatment ; and, *excepting taking away some of their young children*, Pangeran Mahomed appears to have behaved well *for a native*. One of them said ‘ it causes the tears to rise in our eyes, when we see the Dyaks of Salimbow plucking fruit off their own trees, or gathering wax from their own tapangs (a gigantic tree), and reminds us of our own lands, where there are so many tapangs, and such an abundance of fruit.’ Poor fellows ! how natural and how touching ! They little dreamed of the poetry of their expressions.

“ ‘ Turn our captivity, Ó Lord, as the rivers in the south.’

“ ‘By the waters of Babylon we sat down, and wept when we remembered thee, O Sion.’

“It was a hard morning’s work, but a good one for an invalid ; though the spirit was willing, the flesh was weak, and I was exhausted after it.

“11th December 1850.—Confined to the house, except for my evening ride, and feeling very debilitated. It is a matter of thankfulness that I suffer so little, and I have hope that this weakness will be cured by bracing air. Certainly for the last ten years I have led as hard a life in a tropical climate as most men ; often a hard life bodily, and always a hard life mentally. I crawled over to-day, to give a decision in a case of litigation between a Kling and a Malay, which had been before the magistrates half-a-dozen times.

“To-morrow the *Nemesis* will perhaps be here. I feel so useless, so unable to do what I am called upon to do, that I long to be off ; but I must visit Labuan before I go. I am worn out.

“Sunday.—The last day of my stay at Sarāwak has arrived. It is always some little pain to leave the place, and yet I feel that change or death are the alternatives ; and that, if I desire a prolonged life of usefulness, it must be nursed at present. I leave everything quiet without, and prosperous within ; and I anticipate no evil, for I have great reliance in the stability of the present state of affairs, founded on the love of the people. I have faith, and I have hope. I believe that truth will triumph over

falsehood, and order triumph over confusion, though often and though seriously impeded. This is the tendency of God's moral government, and its ultimate end ; and the duty of mankind is to advance this end, not by a mere praying for and preaching about, and expecting unattainable perfection ; but by a persevering crusade against evil—by a steady pursuit and encouragement of what is just and good, in reliance on the high and spiritual source of all success.

“ As for the doctrine of universal peace in this world, how is it that words and folly should ever prevail, as they do prevail, over some thousands of civilised and educated people ? It obtains credence as a quack medicine is taken ; and history teaches us that no delusion is too gross for the human mind to receive ; no imposture too barefaced for the imaginative weak mind ; and no impostor without his credulous disciples. This peace-imposture is a great ill, in spite of what Mons. Humboldt has said ; it has no practical end, and it impedes the practical alleviation of an evil not to be entirely cured. Is it not plain to common sense that, whilst there shall be crime, and violence, and imposture in the world, there will be war ? for war is but a political effort of one nation to redress the wrongs inflicted on it by another, or it is the crime of one nation against another. To talk of umpires between nations is to cover nakedness with transparent gauze. What umpires or what referee could have stoped Xerxes, or Alexander, or Hannibal ? What

umpires could have checked the league for the dismemberment of Poland? Or Napoleon, when he pounced on Spain, or marched into Russia? What umpires could have stayed the march of the Czar into Hungary? It is folly, and waste of paper, to deal with it. To talk of umpires is to declare that every dispute which arises between nations is to lead to a general war; it is to aggravate the very evil it talks of curing; to set nations by the ears like bulldogs, and to perpetuate a system of meddling with our neighbours' affairs. As for the mode pursued, to arrive at an impossible end,—I must say that the bleatings of this flock would lead one to believe that while they are striving to establish peace, they are banishing *charity* from the world.

“The following is the tale of the Dyaks of Tringus, and tribes of Tadan, Kombè, and Sidin :—

“Formerly the Dyaks of Sarāwak and the Dyaks of Sambas had numerous feuds, which, since my government, have been made up or suspended. The Dyaks of Sarāwak can no longer carry on this intertribal war, being forbidden by the Government, under pain of death. The Dyaks of Tadan, under these circumstances, have opened up an old feud; and, making an incursion to the lands of the Tringus, have killed one man. The Dyaks of Sidin are concerned, having been the guides of the Tadan, and deceiving the Tringus man killed. The Dyaks of Kombè are likewise implicated, having allowed the Tadan to pass their lands in the excursion, which could not have been

made had they refused a right of way. The Tadan have thrice made excursions ; the Tringus, not able to retaliate, live in dread, and fear to cultivate their grounds.

“ It is demanded that the Tadan should be obliged to pay the usual fine for the crime, and be prevented from renewing the feud. Let there be peace. If this cannot be done, there is no other alternative than to let all the Sarāwak tribes loose on the Tadan, because this latter tribe cannot be permitted to kill with impunity a people restrained by their Government.

“ The following is the testimony of three intelligent Dyaks from the interior, given during several months' residence with us, in the most frank manner to be conceived,—as direct and unimpeachable evidence as I ever heard, offered sometimes when they were altogether ; sometimes by individuals apart, in conversation with numerous persons. I examined them myself, and entertain no doubt of the correctness of these statements, as far as their personal knowledge is concerned. The witnesses themselves stated over and over again, with the utmost clearness, how much they *had seen*, and how much heard. There was such perfect good faith and simplicity in their stories, as to carry conviction of their truth.

“ The three men were named Kusu, Gajah, and Rinong ; and stated as follows :—

“ ‘ We are of the tribe of Sibaru ; which is likewise the name of a branch of the Kapuas River. The tribe of Sibaru contains 2000 (or even more) fighting men

(tikaman), and is under the government of Pangeran Kuning, who resides at Santang, a Malay town on the Kapuas. We have none of us been up to the interior of the Kapuas, where the Kayans live, but they often come down to Santang where we meet them. The Kayans are quite independent, very numerous and powerful : they are governed by their own Rajahs, whom they call Takuan. Some of these Kayan tribes are cannibals (makan manusia), it is generally reported, and we know it to be true.

“ ‘ Pangeran Kuning of Santang was at war a few years ago with Pangeran Mahomed of Suwite (Suwight), a Malay town situated on the Kapuas, between Santang and Salimbow. A large force was collected to attack Suwite. There were Malays (Laut) of Santang and Sakadow, and the Dyaks of Sibaru, Samaruang, Dassar, and of other tribes ; and besides all these, was a party of about fifty Kayans. We never heard the particular name of this Kayan tribe, for we did not mix with them, nor did we understand their language : Suwite was not taken, but a few detached houses were captured, and one man of the enemy was killed in the assault.

“ ‘ Kusu saw these Kayans run small spits of iron, from eight inches to a foot long, into the fleshy parts of the dead men’s legs and arms, from the elbow to the shoulder, and from above the ankle beneath the calf to the knee-joint ; and they sliced off the flesh with their swords, and put it into baskets. They carry these spits, as we all saw,

in a case under the scabbard of their swords. They prize heads in the same way as the Dyaks. They took all the flesh off the body, leaving only the big bones, and carried it to their boats, and we all saw them broil (pang-gang) and afterwards eat it. They ate it with great relish, and it smelt, whilst cooking, like hog's flesh. It was not we alone that saw them eat this, but the whole force (balla) saw it.

“ ‘ Men say that many of these interior tribes of Kayans eat human flesh—that of their enemies ; most, however, they say, do not, and all of them are represented to be good people and very hospitable ; and we never heard that they ate any other than the flesh of their enemies. It made us sick to see them, and we were afraid (takut), horrified.

“ ‘ This was not the only time we have seen men eat human flesh. The Dyaks of Jangkang are likewise cannibals. They live somewhere between Sangow and Sadong, on a branch of the Sangow River, called Sakiam. The Jangkangs had been out attacking the Ungkias tribe ; and after the excursion they came to our village with several baskets of human flesh, for they had killed two men. They cooked and ate this outside our house, but it had been broiled (panggang) before. I knew it to be human flesh, for I saw one of them turning the hand (with the fingers) of a dead man at the fire ; and we saw them eat this hand on the bank of the river, close to our house. We talked to them about it, and they did not make any secret of it.

“ ‘ The Jangkang people, according to report, eat Malays or Dyaks, or any one else they kill in war ; and they kill their own sick, if near unto death, and eat them. There was an instance of this at Santang. Whilst a party of this people was staying there, one of them fell out of a mango tree, and broke his arm, besides being otherwise much hurt ; and his companions cut his throat (sambilih) and ate him up. None of us, however, saw this happen, but we heard it from the Santang people. It is likewise said, but we do not know it for a truth, that, when they give their yearly feast (makantaun) a man will borrow a plump child, for eating, from his neighbour, and repay in kind with a child of his own, when wanted. We do not however, know personally anything beyond having seen them once eating human flesh ; but we have heard these things, and believe them ; they are well known.’

“ Sheriff Moksain corroborated this latter statement generally ; as he declared there was no doubt of the Jangkang tribe being cannibals ; but he had never seen them eat human flesh ; and Brereton likewise heard of a tribe in the interior of the Sadong being cannibals. There is clue enough, however, to settle the point ; and, without being positive in an opinion, I can only say that the evidence I have put down was as straightforward as any I ever heard in my life, and such as I cannot doubt, until it be disproved.”

CHAPTER XIX.

SIR JAMES BROOKE VISITS LABUAN AND BORNEO—THE MURUTS—MACOTA'S DELINQUENCIES—MISGOVERNMENT OF BORNEO—PROGRESS OF LABUAN—THE MEGAPODIUS, ITS NEST, ETC.—POLITICS OF BRUNÉ—CHARACTER OF MUMKIN—SIR JAMES BROOKE LEAVES SARAWAK—SECRET SOCIETIES, OR HUÉ—MEASURES AGAINST THEM—SAILS FROM SINGAPORE—ADEN—THE DESERT—SUH—CAIRO—ALEXANDRIA—MALTA.

“BORNEO, December 24th.—A rough passage brought me to Labuan from Sarāwak. I was overwhelmed with business for three days, and then started for this place, to see whether I could do anything to help the unfortunate Muruts of Limbang.

“Driven to desperation by oppression, this unfortunate people rose on their brutal tyrants and put some to death ; but they cannot hold out against the Borneans, and the treachery of some of their own tribe. Their wives and children are yet safe ; but six men and women have been killed ; and I fear greater horrors are impending—death, plunder, and slavery. I think a remonstrance will be fully justified ; for no civilised man can stand by and see such things done ; and all the forms and etiquettes

which rule the conduct of states in their intercourse must not be permitted to interfere in a case of humanity, where a Government shadow, like an evil spirit, perpetrates crimes of all sorts. It is very certain, likewise, that this Government, by force and intrigue, prevents all persons from visiting Labuan. This is a direct breach of treaty, and must be mended. Macota's finger is in this work ; certainly clever, full of schemes, which fail for want of honesty, and devices too fine-spun for comprehension. In short, I believe Macota would cheat himself, if he could not cheat any one else ; and his rapacity is as unbounded as his sense of right is deficient. Ruin has always followed his footsteps, and always will ; and he manages on every occasion to involve himself in the ruin he brings on others. Had he courage and decision, he would be as bad a man as the countries below the wind could produce ; but his cowardice and vacillation are redeeming points in his character ; and he cannot rise to the dignity of a thorough-paced villain, but is a rogue of the first water. I see Borneo dwindling away from misgovernment, and I pity it not.

“ Four years ago a fine trade sprung up, when protection was insured to the trader ; but this trade has been followed by the oppression of the poor natives—the real producers—and has died away. Trade under these governments is a curse, an unmitigated evil, which leads to the misery of the producing classes ; but this evil cures itself. Trade is driven to an end, and the grasping

merchant, to whom human suffering is as nothing when balanced against profit, then becomes the unworthy and unconscious instrument of good, when the exactions of the nobles drive the community to resistance. I see light shining amid the darkness which prevails on this coast : a spirit of passive resistance in many, or most, of the rivers. Our Sarāwak nakodahs drive a profitable trade, and spread the news and the seeds of good government and fair dealing. This is the spirit that must be fostered. The Bruné Rajahs should be allowed the revenue which was their right by custom, but restrained in the exercise of that indiscriminate system of spoliation and oppression in which they delight. This is beyond their comprehension, beyond their wishes, and, in fact, beyond their attainment ; for some five or six thousand rapacious vagabonds, of high blood, scramble for what they can get, to support themselves in a life of vicious poverty, and hand-to-mouth indolence. I am weary of dealing with a Government without power, without faith, without wit, and without honesty. I will guard our rights, and let them plunge forward on their career of ruin under the guidance of Macota, the idiotcy of the Sultan, the procrastination of Mumein, and the weakness of Muda Mahomed. This last family interests me ; and, if I have the means, I will snatch them from the burning. The Sultan and the chief Rajahs of Bruné might be pensioned by a civilised Government, or an individual richer than I am, and a transfer of their nominal rights might thus be acquired ;

but if this was done, how pay ? how control the thousands of Pangerans, and Pangerans' Pangerans ? It is best to leave the difficulty to be solved by time.

“I would take charge of the southern rivers from which the Sultan has derived no revenue for some fifty years ; but to collect and sell the revenue, and arrange the internal affairs of these countries, would be troublesome ; though I doubt not that some of them, at least, would compound for the payment of a fixed revenue to the Sultan, on the understanding that they were to enjoy a freedom from all other taxation, and a participation in the privileges of Sarāwak. Thus much might be done ; yet I do not go beyond mentioning this to the Government here ; for it would be a troublesome and thankless task. I would do it, because it would increase the happiness of thousands, it would advance commerce, and give stability to the right order of affairs.

“ 28th, Labuan.—I am on the whole well satisfied with the progress of Labuan, slow though it be ; there is a glimmering of confidence amongst the natives of the coast, and time will raise the settlement above the obstructions cast in its way by the intrigues of Bruné. Where was strife last year, is now peace and good fellowship, amongst the the Europeans ; trade begins to creep into the place, and if there be reliance on right principles it will rise, spite of the factious outcry at home, and the ill-will in Borneo. Thus much.—I can write no more in detail in my present condition.

“ 29th.—I crossed over to Daat in *Nemesis*, to witness the labours of the wondrous bird *Megapodius*.

“ *Megapodius*, or *Leipoa*, called by the natives by the very appropriate name of *Menambun* (from *Tambun*, to pile, to heap up). I took the specimen sent to Sarāwak for a *Francolin* ; and there is no doubt that it is a galinaceous bird.

“ Its nest, or heap, was found close to the edge of the sea sand, and was formed over a fallen *Aru* tree (*Cassnarina*) and covered, but not densely, with shrubs. The pile was sixty feet in circumference, by four and a half feet in height, made from the light sandy soil around. At the top were eight holes or entrances, irregularly shaped ; and near one of these holes was the recent scratching of the bird.

“ About four months ago this same heap was partially destroyed by Low ; since which time the birds had entirely repaired it. We attacked the heap with vigour ; and it was soon apparent, from the size of the living roots within, that it is a permanent residence, and that it has been inhabited many years ; and this will account for the undisturbed state of the ground around, in which there is no trace of excavation, nor any disturbance of the soil or leaves. Within the heap were not only live roots of the size of a man's arm, but sea-shells, pieces of coral, old seeds from the surrounding trees, and other substances. The sea may occasionally rise to the foot of the heap, and thus fill up the excavations made ; yet this

must be of very rare occurrence, from the nature of the trees which flourish close to it ; as the wild Mangusteen, and other trees would not live, if touched often by salt-water.

“The entrances ran irregularly down into the heap ; and we therefore commenced our labour on a level with the ground, and cut a trench through the mass of rubbish, and then opened another trench at right angles with the first. Our labour was rewarded by the prize of nine eggs in all ; and we saw the débris of some half a dozen or more eggs, from one of which the bird had recently escaped. In one of the eggs, which was broken by the spade, a young bird was found, which in a day or two more would have come out : it was living but had been struck. It was fully feathered in the egg, and the young bird hatched in Low’s egg was also feathered, and began to scratch vigorously the moment he was free. This leaves but little doubt that the young one scratches its way out of the heap, after being hatched, without the superintendence of the parents. Six of the eggs found were placed with the big end uppermost ; two were lying on their sides, and one was broken in digging.

“Is this enormous heap formed by many birds or by one or two pairs only ?

“I should certainly say, wonderful as it is, that it is the work of a pair. The huge heap was evidently very old, and yet the number of eggs and eggshells, and other traces of habitation found in it were very few, if we sup-

pose it to be the nest of a flock of these birds. It is more likely, therefore, to be the nest of one pair, or at most of two; and formed year after year by fresh accumulations. Altogether it is an irregular, shapeless, ugly, loose mass, which might easily escape detection.

“The bird, as I have described, is of a brown colour, a heavy flyer,—the tail not above a couple of inches in length. The cock bird is represented as slightly tinged with a green hue; the cheeks are naked and red; round the eyes red likewise. The Menambun is found in Labuan, and the surrounding islets: it is also abundant in the Sulu seas; but it is said not to be found on the mainland of Borneo. The eggs, according to the natives, are excellent eating, but the birds coarse and bad.

“I must add that the thermometer stood at 88 deg. in the holes whence the eggs had been removed; and, allowing this to be two degrees below the real heat, from the entrance of the external air, it would give 90 deg. as the heat required for hatching. There is certainly no heat from vegetable fermentation in the nests that I saw.

“In the ‘*Moniteur des Indes*,’ vol. ii., No. 5, pp. 131 and 132, is an account of a species of this bird, called Maleo, but different from the bird here described, and placed in a group altogether new and sufficiently doubtful, called *Macrocephalon*.

“The brilliant plumage of the Celebes bird, remarkable for its ‘*forte bosse derrière la tête*,’ and the very name of

‘*Megapodius rubripes*’ decides against its affinity with our bird.

“Sunday, 5th.—St. John returned in *Nemesis*, from Bruné, bringing with him Nakodah Gadore and Abdul Ajak, and their followers. Some two thousand people are prepared to leave the city, and take up their residence at Labuan, or at the mouth of the Kaleas River.

“The Sultan, beyond a doubt, is dying; and with his imbecile and vicious life the very pretence of government will cease. That he is a weak man, with as small an amount of reason as can constitute a responsible creature, must be a palliation of his crimes in the sight of God; but this very feebleness of intellect has with him leaned invariably to evil counsel, to rapacity, oppression, and violence. He has been invariably the tool of the bad, never the obedient child of the good. Thus let him pass away, pitied and forgiven, but unlamented and unhonoured, and another example that weakness in a monarch is productive of more suffering to the people than vice.

“Mumein at the same time lay dangerously ill; and if he likewise dies, the last restraining power will be removed, and we shall have aspirants to the throne as thick as mushrooms, and as easily trodden under foot.

“If Bruné deserved pity, I would bestow it; but it is a wicked and vicious city, and the seat of a wicked and vicious Government. Its downfall must produce good; and its existence has not been dignified enough to merit

commiseration. Now let them remember the noble blood that they have spilt ;—now let them mourn the fate of the amiable Muda Hassim, and the gallant Budrudeen ; and trace the downfall of their empire to the brutal massacre of 1845.

“ Yet Mumein, until acted upon by Der Macota, was a good man, and with some ability and some honesty ; but fitter for a merchant than a minister,—vacillating, and indolent and procrastinating, when called upon to act himself : he has now become dishonest, base, and intriguing.

“ My letter has released the people of Burong Pingé ; and I hope it may save the poor Muruts of Limbang.

“ I am weak and ill still ; but the prospects of Labuan are cheering ; the Company is one drawback, but we can do without the Company soon.

“ January 7th.—A Menambun hen, probably young, being not much more than half the size of the specimen described in Sarāwak. That specimen was of a cock bird, from the size. The present one is of a brown—less marked than a chestnut-brown with red, and less green than an olive brown ; on the back and top of the head, the breast, tail, &c., slate-coloured ; eye brown, particularly large and full ; sides of the head naked, reddish ; nostrils large and naked ; ditto ears ; wings heavy and convex ; legs powerful, as described before. The bird, however, is a young one.

“ 18th, *Nemesis*, Jan., 1851.—I yesterday left Sarāwak ;

and parting at Santobong from Brooke, McDougall, St. John, and Crookshank, soon cleared the channel, and lost sight of the mountain. At eleven we rounded Datu ; and this morning at nine are nearly off St. Pierre, the Puto Mori of the natives.

“ Farewell, my adopted country. I leave prosperity and peace behind ; and if it be that I return no more, still what has been done will not pass away with me.

“ I have a great confidence in the ability and judgment of my successor ; and the permanency of the Government is based on the love of the people to the existing order of things. A rising revenue, and yet a very light one, will support a simple and unpretending Government ; and commerce will flourish by freedom from all restrictions. Farewell then Sarāwak, and all the dear inhabitants it contains !—some few dear to me from a community of mind ; many from their integrity, gentleness, and simplicity ; most from habit and interest. We may moralise on man’s ingratitude ; but I can declare, as far as my experience goes, that man is grateful for benefits, according to his nature and situation ; and more we ought not to expect. He is not an angel ; and those who look for a snivelling profession of obligation, or who would exact such from him, will be disappointed. Gratitude and cambric are not indissolubly bound together, and how frightful a burden would obligation to our fellow-mortals be, if it entailed on us a necessity for everlasting cant and base grovelling. Man is grateful enough ; and those who

say the contrary are the very persons who deserve little gratitude, even if they conferred a favour, which they seldom enough do.

“ I was only three whole days in Sarāwak ; and during that time I had to renew my inquiries into the operations of the secret societies amongst the Chinese. When there a month before, I called together all the principal men, told them I was acquainted with the endeavour to get up a Hué or Fué, and warned them of the consequences. The Government of Sincapore, which, judged by English laws, could not act (I said) against these societies ; but at Sarāwak they would find it different ; for justice was more speedy, and looked less to forms of procedure.

“ This and much more I said. Let them beware, I concluded, and stop in time ; for I should gain evidence against them, and should not hesitate to punish so great a crime as setting up a secret society to overawe the Government, and to terrify their own countrymen. It could not, and should not be allowed.

“ On my return I found that the warning thus publicly given had had no effect ; and that a few individuals, *all from Sincapore*, were active in enrolling members, and by persuasion and threats inducing or forcing the Sambas Chinese into the society. An ambassador from a Hué in Sincapore had come over ; two or three respectable men were busy in the cause ; and several of a poorer class were active agents and emissaries. *In private* this was readily stated by many of the Chinese, some Sambas Chinese,

some Malacca Chinese, some from up the country, and some living at Kuching.

“ This testimony was given to different persons by witnesses not even acquainted with each other, and who could have no object in making the statements they did. There could not be a suspicion of collusion ; the evidence was clear, consistent and conclusive as to the general fact and the guilt of particular individuals ; and yet not one of these witnesses could be induced to come forward in public : they all declared that it was as much as their lives were worth ; that I had no power to protect them. In Sarāwak, in Sincapore, in China, wherever the Hué had its ramifications, there they would be put to death. The system of intimidation, however managed, was complete ; and the only option was to allow the society to increase and flourish, as at Sincapore, and gradually to assume all the functions of government, with more than the terrors of government ; or to strike at it in its infancy, and to assure the members of the inquisition that they were not safe in their own persons, whilst acting against others.

“ I did not hesitate long : I resolved to get rid of a secret inquisition, which would subvert government, pollute the springs of morality, and shake the very foundations of society, even at the expense of the forms of justice. If this society were permitted to exist, there was an end of justice in the country. To convict by proceeding openly was impossible ; conviction would only lead to the simple

fact of the existence of an illegal society ; it would not end the society, any more than the conviction of one or two of its members for crime would deter the others from committing the same crime, under the obligation of oaths, and from a sense of mistaken duty. The existence of this secret society was opposed to the administration of justice, and therefore I resolved to strike at the embryo of the lurking hydra. I seized two active agents, and summoned about a dozen others,—at the head of them Kayun, the ambassador from Sincapore. The court on the following morning was crowded with Chinese and Malays. The *datus* and the magistrates were present ; and all after some consultation agreed with me, the majority wishing to go much further. First we had up Kayun, Achin (a Sincapore man), and another respectable shopkeeper.

‘I addressed them as follows :—

“ ‘I have called the people together on the subject of the *Hué* which the Chinese are establishing in this country. We all know what this *Hué* is ; and if once we let it arise amongst us, we shall have two governments in Sarāwak, the one doing justice and punishing openly in this court, the other dealing in the dark and punishing men secretly. This can never be permitted ; and it would be better to drive every Chinaman out of the country, than to allow them to form a secret society, from which no man would be safe. In Sincapore the *Hué* exists ; but the Government of Sincapore does not know how to deal with such societies.

“‘In Sarāwak the Government is strong, and these Hués cannot exist. I have before warned the Chinese to desist from forming a Hué ; I told them that it would lead to great troubles, and that those guilty of entering this society would be punished, and put to death if necessary, to deter others. They have not listened to the advice then given ; and now they shall see that I am always as good as my word ; and this Court, for the sake of all the people of the country, will exert its full authority to suppress a very great evil. In the name of the Court, I tell the Chinese concerned that, if the punishment now awarded is not sufficient, on the next occasion all of them concerned shall be put to death. Kayun, you are the head man of this Hué ; you have come from Sincapore as a deputy from the society to establish their laws in Sarāwak. You think you are safe, because you can frighten your countrymen from coming forward to give evidence ; but you are not safe ; and as you work in the dark against this Government, this Government will work in the dark against you. As you terrify others, so this Court will terrify you ; as you strike others in secret, so this Court will strike you in secret. As the head man your crime is worthy of death, and therefore prepare yourself. Let him be taken to the fort, and there kept till the Court decides his final sentence.’

“The two other men were fined a hundred dollars each ; to be put to death if brought up again.

“Assan and the blacksmith were ordered two dozen, and

imprisonment ; the rest were warned and dismissed. Kayun's punishment was afterwards commuted to perpetual banishment, and a fine of a hundred dollars.

"I believe the punishment gave great satisfaction amongst the majority of the Chinese ; and I believe it was just, though arbitrary and irregular.

"We are often in this world obliged to make choice between evils ; and I believe in this case I have chosen the lesser evil of the two.

"A secret society dealing with a strong hand, the members of which are bound by solemn oaths, can only have had its origin under a vicious government. Here, wrongs they have none ; and a few bad men introduce the system, to gain power. By degrees they force or frighten numbers to join them ; they become a secret government ; their judgments are the judgments of darkness ; it is a reign of terror ; an offshoot of hell. I am content to have crushed it in the bud ; and if an injustice has been done, it has been done to prevent a continued system of injustice, and to repress a great evil. The state of Singapore is a beacon to warn Sarāwak.

"Farewell Sarāwak ! Farewell Borneo ! Let me cast care and business away, and turn my mind to fair Italy, and relaxation and mirth,—such mirth as forty-seven years can afford, and such amusement as that age can enjoy.*

"8th, Feburary 1851.—My stay at Singapore was un-

* Persecution and business, rather than relaxation and mirth, have been Sir James Brooke's lot since his return to England.—*H. K.*

marked by any event ; but it is the abiding place at present of hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness.

“I do not trouble myself to note down all the raging enmity against myself, the secret treachery of the fair-faced, or the weakness of the simpletons. Yet have I there many and true friends, men of worth and integrity.

“The whole band are not worth a thought, and should not give a pang to an honest man. It is the struggle which every man rising to position must engage in.

“I fear not, nor do my spirits flag, though my body may fail. Yesterday I left this fair spot in the steamer *Pekin*.

“9th, Penang.—Saw the bishop, and Blundell ; and off after four hours’ detention. Away—Away—Charley Grant with me, in a comfortable cabin ; Channon as attendant.

“16th, Point de Galle.—Arrived yesterday after a pleasant voyage. Went to the Cinnamon Gardens, for want of something better to do ; nothing to see, but how corrupted a portion of the population become by the influx of visitors.

“This morning the *Hindostan* arrived from Calcutta, not over-full of passengers ; and consequently we got the cabin we had already paid for. At four or five we start ; and glad shall I be to leave this hot glaring hole of a place. The only thing which interested me was the mode by which they prepare the husk of the cocoa-nut into koir fibre, for exportation to England. This might become a valuable commodity in Sarāwak and Labuan.

“ Malta, 17th March, 1851.—Our voyage continued agreeably, and we enjoyed uninterrupted fine weather. Aden is a frightful and desolate rock ; and the Turkish wall, as it is now fortified, is certainly meant to resist a European army, and never built to protect the place from the wandering tribes of Arabs. Here, again, was that hateful, barefaced, impudent mendicancy, generated by the regular transit of passengers. We obtained a good view of the Babelmandel Straits ; but all the way from Aden to Suez the prospect is of that hideous barren character, from which my mind shrinks, and which is so strongly contrasted with the verdure and luxuriance of the far East. The desert is the only interesting place ; and there the desolation and expanse, the howling wilderness, affect the mind, and impart a degree of dreary charm. I liked the desert ships, and the villanous-looking Arabs who steer them. Never was contrast greater than between Suez and Sarāwak ; and wondrous is it that habit and association can render the former pleasanter to the denizens of the soil than the latter. Cairo is a picturesque and Eastern City—emphatically so called by travellers. I stood on the citadel, and gazed on the Pyramids ; but I could conjure up no dream of the Pharaohs ; and I looked on father Nile, and thought it pleasant to discover that there was a river ; and the green fields were doubly agreeable to eye and to sense, when contrasted with the barren sand. The beauty of the Valley of the Nile is felt, on account of the contrast with

the horrible desert. It is on this account fully appreciated, and over-praised in relation to other and fairer scenes. Looking on the city from the height, or walking through its streets, one is struck with the picturesque effects ; the squalid, unhealthy, dirty aspect of men and things. The picturesque and the dirty are synonymous terms in a traveller's diary ; and the filthy delight is in perfection in Cairo, whether to the eye or to the nose.

“ From Cairo we dropped down to Atfe, the entrance of the Mah'moudie Canal, and were there detained for several hours, during which I took a walk with Hooker—the pleasantest time I passed in Egypt ; the sun shone, the air was bracing, the fields were green, and we plucked English flowers ! Alexandria is devoid of interest, excepting to an interest-hunter ; but it is something once more to stand on the brink of the blue Mediterranean. I left Egypt with pleasure. In spite of antiquity and association, it is a disagreeable country ; a government begun at the wrong end ; a wretched and ground-down population ; and ships, and armies, and palaces, and manufactures, supported by their sufferings. Here the folks are not beggars ; they do not beg, but they demand. ‘ Bukish,’ (a present) is a universal cry amongst them. Even the sentry at the palace-gate rushed at us, musket and bayonet in hand, bellowing for ‘ bukish.’ He asked for bread, and I gave him a stone : the unsoldierly rascal ! and yet these poor military rascals of the Pasha's are to be pitied. Much of interest attaches to the politics of Egypt : the country has

many capabilities ; but it is not the fertility of the soil, nor the produce of the land which will attract us there ; but, in case of war, it must be a struggle to attack and defend the overland communication with India ; and whither may not this lead ? Farewell Egypt ! I cannot leave the land without recording the brilliant starlight nights : the atmosphere was surprisingly pure ; but the climate was as treacherous as a cold wind and scorching sun could make it. We reached Malta in four days and a half ; for the last two it was blowing a gale in our teeth, and our arrival in Malta harbour was a relief. Here we bade adieu to many pleasant companions, and retired into our quarantine prison on Friday the 14th, whence we were this morning released.

“ I am now writing in Dunsford’s hotel, and rejoicing that I am not exposed to the gale blowing from the north-west.”

CHAPTER XX.

MEANDER SAILS FOR SYDNEY—ANJER—BATAVIA ROADS—AMERICAN LIBERALITY—
HOSPITALITIES AT BATAVIA—COMMERCE OF JAVA—FLYING CANOES—BALI LAKES
—VOLCANIC MOUNTAINS—COMBA—LOMBOK—SUTTE—FLORES—PIRATES AGAIN
—TIMOR—PORT ESSINGTON—COBOURGH PENINSULA—CANNIBALISM—HABITS OF
THE NATIVES.

ON the 24th September, 1849, we took leave of many kind friends at Singapore, and proceeded on a more interesting voyage than usually falls to the lot of men-of-war.

Our orders were, after having removed the garrison and stores from Port Essington, to visit Sydney and Auckland, and call at the Friendly and Society Islands, on our way to Valparaiso.

The Australian schooner we sent in advance, with directions to wait for us in the Straits of Sunda. We ran between the Islands of Banca and Billiton on the 29th, and anchored in Anjer roads on the 1st October.

Anjer is nothing in itself; a small Dutch town and fort; clean, as most Dutch places are, with a large

comparatively dirty-looking Malay village attached, which is inhabited partly by Chinese. While wandering about, we were invited to enter one of their abodes by a withered-looking specimen of the Celestial Empire, who had, as we understood, just been fined 8000 rupees for smuggling; he was an opium farmer, and was the only person in that district licensed to retail it. A large revenue is raised in the following manner:—In the first place, the Government prohibit the wholesale disposal of opium by any one but themselves: they then fix a high remunerating price; for instance,—say a chest costs the Government 400 dollars, they fix the price at 2000 rupees; they then have an auction, and the man who bids for most chests at the Government price gets the license (the only one in the district) for retailing. By this system an enormous revenue is obtained, amounting, I was informed, to a million sterling, without the Government having the discredit of encouraging the use of the pernicious drug. The retail price to repay the farmer being so high, the poor labourer cannot afford to use it; he is not, therefore, reduced to the pitiful condition in which we see the Chinese at Singapore, as the occasional whiffs which he is enabled to enjoy are not sufficient to undermine his constitution.

The smuggling of opium is easily prevented, as in addition to the measures taken by Government, it is worth while to the opium farmers to employ look-out men for that purpose; and the farmer being the only

person who would attempt to smuggle, he is easily watched.

The walls of the forts and Government buildings are well whitewashed, and the roofs coal-tarred. The tree of Anjer is a striking object ; it is a banyan of great size, and grows close to the landing-place. From the summit of this tree rises a flag-staff, from which the handsome tri-coloured flag of the Netherlands' Government floats gracefully. The communication between the top and bottom of this gigantic tree is by means of a succession of bamboo ladders. Anjer is the constant resort of vessels passing through the Straits of Sunda, and may be called the great key to the Eastern Archipelago. Letters left at this place, properly addressed, will find their way to any part of the world. The boats, which run alongside each vessel that passes, are laden with an endless variety of fruits, vegetables, live stock, monkeys, birds, &c., to suit the different tastes and wants of the outward or homeward-bound traders, at a very moderate charge. Boats with half-ton casks filled with excellent water are constantly ready, and sent alongside on application being made to the proper authorities. I imagine this supply of water to be one of the little perquisites appertaining to the governor.

Having despatched the schooner to Sydney by the western coast of Australia, we weighed on the afternoon of the 3rd.

Our route to the eastward for the next 3000 miles lay between the 6th and 10th degrees of south latitude, during

which we should pass a succession of beautiful islands, with the sea in all probability so smooth that a canoe might live in it ; the finest weather ; and the prevailing winds in our favour.

A short run carried us into Batavia roads. On nearing this spacious and beautiful anchorage, in which the flags of all nations may be seen flying from the mast-heads of a variety of vessels, from the prahus of the Spice Islands to the magnificent traders of the United States, you are at once impressed with the idea that you are approaching a large and opulent city. We passed inside the fortified island of Onrust, on which stands the great naval arsenal, and took up a berth near the flag-ship.

The ship next to us on the other side happened to be one with a cargo of Wenham Lake ice, the master of which immediately sent on board to say that the officers of the frigate were welcome to as much ice as they liked to send for. I have ever found much generosity and honest frankness among the officers of the American merchant-ships. They calculate, and they guess, and have a fair notion of the value of a dollar, and are smart fellows at a bargain ; they can spit at a mark, and may occasionally deal a little in the marvellous sea-serpent line ; but they are very amusing with it all, and liberal : what they offer they mean you to accept, and do not expect a return. As a shell-collector I have frequently sent alongside their whalers, as well as other traders, whence my gig's crew

have generally returned with the full value of anything they might have taken to exchange.

Batavia deserves a great deal more notice than we had time to bestow upon it, being the capital of all the Dutch possessions in the East, with a mixed population, chiefly Javanese, of about 120,000. Like Manilla, the city is approached from seaward by a long straight canal, running between two massive walls ; and, as there is a strong current generally setting out, the easiest way to stem it is to land the crew, and let them track the boat. The houses near the sea, although large and handsome buildings, are used by the merchants for business purposes only ; the situation is on a swampy flat, and at certain times very unhealthy. Even during our short stay in the roads, some of those on board did not escape the fatal effects of the malaria wafted off by the nocturnal land-breezes. The suburbs, extending over the higher grounds to a distance of several miles inland, are most healthy and very beautiful ; they present a succession of large handsome houses, standing in extensive gardens, and surrounded by cocoa-nut, banana, and other trees, whose shade imparts a delightful freshness to the apartments. The roads to this part from the coast are broad, with streams of fresh water on both sides. In these suburban portions are the dwellings of the Europeans ; so that the city, which is all activity and animation by day, becomes after 4. p. m. as melancholy and deserted as if infected with the plague.

The appearance of a British man-of-war in Batavia

roads is so uncommon, that the *Mæander* at first excited considerable speculations as to our intentions ; but when we had explained our destination, and that our chief object in running in was to pay our respects to His Serene Highness the Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, added to our anxiety to meet the steamer daily expected from Singapore with the European Mail, the explanation seemed to be quite satisfactory. Being myself of Dutch extraction, I could both evince and excite a little natural curiosity ; and in fact we were treated with unbounded hospitality and every kind attention.

We were first entertained at a grand dinner given by the Duke of Saxe Weimar, General and Commander-in-Chief of the land forces ; whose example was followed by several of the heads of departments. We had dinners and balls in rapid succession. Nothing could exceed the kind welcome which we received from the whole mercantile community, among whom our countrymen stand preeminent. There was not an officer or a youngster in the ship that did not find a home ; houses and carriages were everywhere placed at their disposal. The Batavia Races took place too while we were there. The higher prizes were all carried off by one or two good horses of English breed ; but as the stakes decreased in value, the races were better contested. The course is circular, pretty to look at, and tolerably good. The enterprising members of this turf club made their appearance in scarlet coats. A ball and supper followed ; and these seemed to be

thought by most of our youngsters the best part of the day's proceedings.

The roads throughout Java are good, and the means of posting ample, though it is not easy for a foreigner to obtain permission to roam freely through the country.

The mail having arrived, with great regret we weighed anchor, to prosecute our voyage, having made many friends during our short stay. The occasional visit of a man-of-war here does much good, and is a gratification to our countrymen, who thus feel that their interests are not neglected. I heard of one British firm alone at Batavia having paid in the year Customs' duties to the amount of £30,000.

Java has all the beauty of larger tropical islands, with an uncommon degree of cultivation. The run along the northern side of the great chain of islands, which form the southern boundary of the Indian Archipelago, was interesting in the extreme.

As we kept the Java coast, the fishing canoes, or "flying canoes of Java," as they are not inaptly styled, were each morning objects of surprise and admiration. They are long, but very narrow—just broad enough to enable a man to sit between the gunwales; the crew seldom exceeds four men. They are rendered steady by long semicircular outriggers, one end secured to the gunwale, the other to large bamboos awash with the water, of the same length as the canoe itself; and, as they are daubed all over with some bright white substance, they have

the appearance of huge spiders crawling over the dark blue sea ; which is at the same time strange and picturesque : their speed, when propelled by paddles, is very great ; but, under their large triangular sails, they appeared to fly : the crews were very shy, and could not be induced to come nearer than was just sufficient to enable us to contemplate the tempting-looking fish, that kept opening their red gills, and flapping their tails in the bottom of the canoe.

Passing Madura and Java, we came abreast of the Island of Bali. This is the only island in the whole Archipelago where the two great forms in the Hindu religion—the Brahminical (the original) and the Buddhist (the reformed)—exist together undisturbed. This fact is most remarkable, as it is well known all over civilised Asia, that in a war which endured for ages, and desolated great regions, Buddhism was exterminated by the Brahminical worshippers ; but here the two religions subsist peaceably under the same Government. Had they quarrelled, the Mahomedans would undoubtedly have made use of their animosity, in order to complete their schemes of conquest, as they have done in all the neighbouring islands. The Balinese are an independent, and comparatively civilised race, and very jealous of the encroachments of their powerful neighbours : the consequence is that Bali has been the scene of two campaigns ; in the first the Balis had some advantage ; in the latter they were reduced, but by no means humbled. Never-

theless they are in a fair way of becoming a Dutch dependency, or, as our Yankee friends would say, of being *annexed*.

Bali has a remarkably high peak ; and, from the situation in which we viewed it, the island looked like one large mountain sloping out into extensive and rich plains. It has inland lakes, or reservoirs of water, situated several thousand feet above the level of the sea. These lakes all contain excellent fresh water, and are said to have tides whose rise and fall correspond with that of the sea. This is "curious if true." The lakes are of great but irregular depth. In some parts, bottom has been found at from forty to fifty fathoms, and in others, it is said that no soundings can be obtained at the depth of several hundred.

These lakes must very much resemble that which we discovered in the Island of Cagayan Soloo, except in the alleged rise and fall of tide. They contain water sufficient to irrigate the inhabited parts of the island, with little trouble or expense to the natives ; and, however much water may be drawn from them, they never appear to decrease ; so that these lakes form the riches of Bali, a country where there are no great rivers ; and without them it is evident that so great a population could not be maintained. The soil produces two crops in the year ; and, as we passed along, we perceived an abundance both of cattle and vegetables.

In the course of our run we passed numerous volcanic

mountains ; but when in the 123rd islands attracted our particular at Comba, of a conical shape, had up vast volumes of smoke : after at the distance of a few miles (side, we observed the burning lava air, as well as boiling over the immense liquid masses ; the red lava the side of the mountain, and losing until it reached the sea.

The next island in our course was to the northward of it. Its rulers and their subjects are Mahomedan. As to some of my readers to know the which the Hindu practice of Suttee the following extract on the subject the Indian Archipelago." The paper of Mr. Tellingner :—

" On Lombok, wives may suffer after the death of their husbands—to it. They have the choice of all burned or kried ; the first is the of the Rajahs, however, suffer the Having been present at one of these will relate how it was conducted.

" The gusti, who died at Ampana of them would let herself be kried that against the will of all on board

THE MOUNTAIN OF MOUNTAIN ISLAND.

The woman was still young and beautiful ; she had no children. They said to me that a woman who, under such circumstances, suffered herself to be killed, had indeed loved her husband. She intended to accompany him on his long journey to the gods, and she hoped to be his favourite in the other world.

“ The day after the death of the gusti, his wife took many baths ; she was clothed in the richest manner ; she passed the day with her relatives and friends in eating, drinking, chewing of sirih, and praying. About the middle of the space before the house, they had erected two scaffoldings or platforms of bamboo, of the length of a man, and three feet above the ground. Under these they had dug a small pit to receive the water and the blood that should flow. In a small house at one side, and opposite these frame-works, were two others entirely similar. This house was immediately behind the *bali bali*.

“ At four o'clock in the afternoon, men brought out the body of the gusti wrapped in fine linen, and placed it on the left of the two central platforms. A priest of Mataram removed the cloth from the body, while young persons hastened to screen it from the public gaze. They threw much water over the corpse, washed it, combed the hair, and covered the whole body with *châmpáká* and *kánángá* flowers. They then brought a white net. The priest took a silver cup filled with holy water (called *chor*) on which he strewed flowers. He first sprinkled the deceased with this water, and then poured it through the

net on the body, which he blessed, praying, singing, and making various mystical and symbolical motions. He afterwards powdered it with flour of coloured rice, and chopped flowers, and placed it on dry mats.

“ Women brought out the wife of the gusti with her arms crossed. She was clothed with a piece of white linen only. Her hair was crowned with flowers of the *Chrysanthemum Indicum*. She was quiet, and betrayed neither fear nor regret. She placed herself standing before the body of her husband, raised her arms on high, and made a prayer in silence. Women approached her, and presented to her small bouquets of kembang spatu, and other flowers. She took them one by one, and placed them between the fingers of her hands, raised above her head. On this the women took them away and dried them. On receiving and giving back each bouquet, the wife of the gusti turned a little to the right, so that when she had received the whole, she had turned quite round. She prayed anew in silence, went to the corpse of her husband, kissed it on the head, the breast, below the navel, the knees, the feet, and returned to her place. They took off her rings. She crossed her arms on her breast. Two women took her by the arms. Her brother (this time a brother by adoption) placed himself before her, and asked her with a soft voice if she was determined to die, and when she gave a sign of assent with her head, he asked her forgiveness for being obliged to kill her. At once he seized his kris, and stabbed her on the left side of

the breast, but not deeply, so that she remained standing. He then threw his kris down, and ran off. A man of consideration approached her, and buried his kris to the hilt in the breast of the unfortunate woman, who sunk down at once, without uttering a cry. The women placed her on a mat, and sought by rolling and pressure to cause the blood to flow as quickly as possible. The victim being not yet dead, she was stabbed again with a kris between the shoulders. They then laid her on the second platform, near her husband. The same ceremonies that had taken place for him, now began for the wife. When all was ended, both bodies were covered with resin and cosmetic stuffs, enveloped in white linen, and placed in the small side-house on the platforms. There they remain until the time is come when they are burned together.

“It is always a near relation who gives the first wound with the kris, but never father or son. Sometimes dreadful spectacles occur ; such was one at which Mr. K. was present. The woman had received eight kris stabs and was yet quite sensible. At last she screamed out, driven by the dreadful pain, ‘cruel wretches, are you not able to give me a stab that will kill me!’ A gusti who stood behind her, on this, pierced her through and through with his kris.

“The native spectators, whom I had around me, saw in this slaughter which took place before our eyes nothing shocking. They laughed and talked as if it was nothing. The man who had given the three last stabs wiped his

kris, and restored it to its place in as cold-blooded a manner as a butcher would have done after slaughtering an animal."

Mr. Praed's elegant allusion to the self-devotion of a New Zealand widow is sufficiently applicable here :—

"The frantic widow folds upon her breast
Her glittering trinkets and her gorgeous vest,
Surrounds her neck with many a mystic charm,
Clasps the rich bracelet in her desperate arm,
Binds her black hair, and stains her eyelids' fringe
With the jet lustre of the Henow's tinge ;
Then, on the spot where those dear ashes lie,
In bigot transport sits her down to die ;
Her swarthy brothers mark the wasted cheek,
The straining eye-ball, and the stifled shriek ;
And sing the praises of her deathless name,
As the last flutter racks her tortur'd frame.
They sleep together : o'er the natural tomb
The lichen'd pine rears up its form of gloom,
And lone acacias shed their shadow gray,
Bloomless and leafless, o'er the buried clay ;
And often there—when, calmly, coldly bright,
The midnight moon pours down her ghastly light,
With solemn murmur, and with silent tread,
The dance is order'd, and the verse is said ;
And sights of wonder, sounds of spectral fear,
Scare the quick glance, and chill the startled ear."

After Lombok we passed Surubawa and Comodo successively. The next island of note is that of Flores.

Here we once more found ourselves within the baneful influence of piracy. The natives captured from this island used to be much esteemed by the Celebes pirates as slaves. Directly we had passed beyond the influence of Dutch protection, no more fishing canoes enlivened the scene, no smoke rose from the numerous inlets along the coasts of these beautiful islands, to indicate the peaceful

abode of human beings. There was the dense green vegetation of the jungle, but a death-like stillness reigned supreme.

The following is translated from a Dutch Journal :—
“On the island of Flores there lives a race called, on the South Coast, Rakka, who not only devour their enemies, but with whom custom requires that the son shall cut the body of his deceased father in pieces, and sell the flesh to the inhabitants at the high price of its weight in gold. This flesh is greedily eaten by the people as a great delicacy. If the father was heavy and of great size the son considers himself particularly fortunate. The population of Endore on the same island is also very greedy of human flesh. But these cannibals confine themselves to the heart which, with incredible dexterity, they extract from the body by giving one blow under the left shoulder-blade. It is then cut into very small pieces and eaten completely raw by the bystanders, who belong to the same race.” I am not yet able to corroborate this.

Passing in nearly the same latitude, the islands of Andenara, Lomblen, Pantar, and Ombay, we made the comparatively large island of Timor, on the north-west side of which the Portuguese flag may be seen flying at Delly, an unhealthy spot, with nothing to recommend it in any way. It is a locality, however, deserving the attention of the Peninsular and Oriental S.N. Company, as convenient for the establishment of a Coal Dépôt ; although I should rather recommend Cape York

in Australia, now that all the narrow parts of the Inner Passage of Torres Straits have been most accurately surveyed by the late Captain Owen Stanley, as I imagine the smooth-water and fine-weather route, by which we came from Singapore, far more desirable and more economical than that by the open sea.

Hence shaping a course more to the south-east, between the two small islands of Babi and Kambing (Pig and Goat), and leaving Wetta on our left, we stood along the north end of Timor ; and on the 5th of November, having rounded Pulo Jackie, we passed through this long chain of beautiful islands, and steered for Port Essington. A strong current set us down to the westward. When working up the Australian coast, we were boarded by a canoe with a crew of six of the veriest looking savages I had yet beheld : one of them, wearing a pair of trowsers, the only article of apparel among them, announced himself, in tolerable English, as one of the tribe attached to the settlement at Port Essington. We came to, on the evening of the 12th of November, in the outer anchorage ; and immediately communicated to Captain McArthur and the party of Marines the unexpected and acceptable intelligence that we were come to remove them. While the garrison however rejoiced, the natives, especially the poor women, showed their grief by cutting their heads and faces with sharp flints, and otherwise disfiguring their already unprepossessing persons.

Port Essington is situated on Cobourg peninsula, at the

most northern part of Australia. The latitude of the pier-head of the then settlement of Victoria is $11^{\circ} 21' 53''$ S., and longitude $132^{\circ} 12' 27''$ E. This port was discovered by Captain Philip King, in his survey of Australia between the years of 1818 and 1821.

After the abandonment of the Melville Island and Raffles Bay settlements, the Government resolved on forming one at Port Essington, as a harbour of refuge for vessels bound through Torres Straits, as well as a convenient place for holding commercial intercourse with the adjacent islands of the Indian Archipelago.

The settlement was established by Captain Sir J. Gordon Bremer, in the *Alligator*, assisted by Commander Owen Stanley in the *Britomart*, in October 1838. The town named Victoria, which consisted of a few wooden houses and small huts, sufficient for the accommodation of the garrison, was built near the head of the harbour, some sixteen miles from the entrance—a better site I think might have been selected, nearer the sea, which would have been cooler, and better supplied with water. An anchorage with a greater depth of water might likewise have been considered; for although, for convenience, we took the *Mæander* up off the settlement, we were much too near the bottom, had it been the stormy season of the year: the periodical gales however give ample notice of their approach.

The country about Port Essington is undulating; there are ranges of hills ten or fifteen miles from the settlement,

which run N.N.W. and S.S.E. ; their highest points, Bedwall and Roe, about 450 feet, are visible from the harbour ; the composition of these hills is of red sandstone.

The soil, particularly in the vallies, consists of a rich dark vegetable mould, having a disagreeable smell. The under soil of red earth, mixed sometimes with a white marly substance.

The valleys do not in general contain much timber. The higher parts of the country are thickly wooded with the Eucalyptes. The blue gum-trees, the finest and stateliest trees of Australia, grow along the river courses. Patches of thick jungle of various extent are found in many places, affording a secure retreat to the kangaroo, and a variety of birds. The timber found in this part of Australia is well calculated for building houses. The iron wood, which is heavy and tough, is much used by the Malays for making anchors. Melons, pumpkins, yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, chilies, pepper, pine-apple, the bread-fruit tree, some sopmangustein, and jack fruit, all grew well in the garrison gardens. The common potato, and most of the European garden vegetables, do not thrive in that climate.

A number of lagoons exist over the Cobourg peninsula ; these are full in the rainy season ; but many of them are nearly or entirely empty in the dry time of year. The water in them is generally brackish.

Within a mile and a half of the settlement is a chain of very deep pits, containing a constant supply of delicious

water. The settlement we found supplied by means of wells, which in the dry season only afforded sufficient for the wants of the garrison. Surface water is abundant all over the country. The natives can generally get a supply by boring a few feet into the sand. The rivers in the vicinity of the settlement are inconsiderable, except during the rainy season.

Port Essington is within the limits of the south-east trade-wind. Towards the end of the year westerly winds blow at intervals until March. After this month the trade-wind increases in strength and becomes steadier until the month of August, after which it is variable. The rainy season and westerly winds generally commence in December. During this season the squalls are heavy, and the showers tropical.

In the intervals of the showers, the heat of the sun is intense, and the evaporation from the moist earth so great, as to produce a steam as dense as a moderate fog. In such cases the smell is disagreeable and suffocating. The wet season ends in May. The continuation of heat and moisture during this time of the year is oppressive and debilitating in the extreme, productive of fevers and bilious affections. The months of June and July are cool and agreeable. The thermometer ranges between 63 deg. and 97 deg. at Port Essington.

The climate is decidedly unhealthy, particularly to Europeans; the most frequent affections are intermittent fevers and impairment of the digestive organs. The chief

causes are probably the heat and moisture of the climate, the land-locked harbour, the swamps and mud-banks, the mangrove marshes ; and, in the case of Europeans, want of fresh and vegetable diet, and of mental occupation and excitement.

About the middle of the dry season the natives set fire to the grass which is abundant everywhere, and at that time quite dry ; they do it annually, in order to clear the country for their wanderings, to destroy vermin, and to promote the growth of roots which they require as articles of food. The conflagration spreads with fearful rapidity and violence, consuming everything in its way, creeping up the dry bark of the trees, running along the branches to the withered leaves, and involving everything dead or alive in one common ruin, until the whole country, as far as the eye can reach, is in a grand and brilliant illumination, which, to be fully appreciated, should be seen. It is accompanied by a low murmuring sound, interrupted now and then by the loud report of the fall or bursting of some large tree, well calculated to increase the melancholy of poor wretches worn out with sickness, and without hope of relief. Realizing imaginations of the final destruction of our world then occur in vivid colours to the subdued and saddened mind.

I am informed that a fire is sometimes caused accidentally by the friction of two dry branches against each other.

The natives of the Cobourg peninsula consist of

five tribes, differing but little in physical appearance, manners, and customs, but each speaking a different dialect. These tribes frequently meet for the purposes of war or corroboree. The largest meeting seen in the neighbourhood of Port Essington did not exceed 250, including men, women, and children. They all remained together in the same encampment,—each tribe however having its own fires,—for three days, during which time the utmost harmony prevailed ; nothing but singing, dancing, and eating ; feats of fishing, throwing the spear, &c. They separated without having the festivities disturbed by an angry word. The tribes do not average more than 150 individuals each ; this, however, must be mere conjecture, as it is difficult to arrive at numbers, where the people can only count up as high as four : but from what we saw and learned from the natives, by comparison with their own tribes, I think 150 must be near the truth. One of the tribes, distant from Port Essington about sixty miles, is said by the others to be composed of very bad men, cannibals ; they are much afraid of them, and anticipated a visit from them when the settlement should be abandoned. It was resolved by three or four of the tribes to unite their forces for mutual safety, when the white men should go away. Whether such visit has been paid has not yet transpired.

The natives are well formed, and active ; their limbs are straight and sufficiently muscular ; their bodies erect ; heads well shaped ; the features generally good ; lips not

very thick ; hair crisp, but not much curled ; teeth regular, white, and sound.—They go quite naked.—They have the skin scarred, a front tooth extracted, and the cartilage of their nose perforated. They are capable of undergoing considerable fatigue and privation in their wanderings, marching for days together long distances, and suffering hunger and thirst for considerable periods. They are a wandering people, and have no fixed residence ; but go from place to place as various articles of food come into season.

It is curious to see a tribe thus migrating. A line of human beings, walking in single file along a forest-path, following its windings, gives one, when viewed from a height, the idea of a large serpent dragging its length along ; or, nearer to you, it has more the appearance of a huge centipede meandering its body through the forest wastes.

On these occasions they carry all their worldly possessions with them : the women are their beasts of burden, carrying the various useful articles ; the men bear their implements of war,—spears, throwing-sticks, and hatchets,—and are always prepared for either an enemy or the chase. The aged, deformed, and sick, are carried on the backs of good Samaritans. In their migrations they are often so sorely pressed by want of food that, to appease the pangs of hunger, they are obliged to swallow balls of clay. During the hottest part of the day they make sheds of the branches of trees, by placing them standing against each

other with the leaves uppermost : this affords shelter from the sun. At night they carry fire-sticks, to keep off evil spirits. In the rainy season they strip the bark off the large trees, about seven feet in length and five in breadth ; and, by fixing each end in the ground at a distance of about three feet, they form a convex shed, which keeps off the heaviest rain, affording accommodation for two persons. They have never attempted permanent buildings, nor do they seem inclined to do so ; indeed, such as they could construct would not long resist the effects of climate, and the ravages of the white ant.

It has been the fashion with naturalists, and writers who copy their matter from their predecessors, without taking the trouble either to inquire into the subject, or to judge for themselves by actual examination, to place the Australian very low indeed in the scale of creation. If they do condescend to admit him into the human race, still they evidently show some compunction at allowing him to take his place over the head of the intelligent monkey, or the sage-looking chimpanzee. A greater mistake than this has never been made. The native of Northern Australia is intelligent and apt. His intelligence is manifested both in the daily concerns of life, and in the acquisition of languages. Many of the natives speak two or three dialects ; and some, in addition, speak English and Malay fluently. They are apt enough in learning everything that may prove useful,—some of them have gone away to Sydney, Java, and Macassar, on board

European ships, and have made good seamen ; and on their return have given intelligent accounts of what they had seen. They have been employed about the settlement in a variety of ways, and have shown no want of quickness in doing what was required of them. When riding through the jungle on a shooting excursion, I gave my gun to a naked savage to carry : I was rather astonished at his addressing me in very good English, with, "Should an opportunity offer, sir, I shall fire !" This man was frequently with me afterwards. One day he said to me, "If you English could thrash Bonaparte whenever you liked, why did you put him on an island, and starve him to death ?"

A constant supply of native labour could always be had—on a small scale, of course—if they were properly fed and regularly paid. Generally they are only employed when the white man wants their aid ; and when he does not, he sends them adrift to pursue their old mode of life ; they consequently got the character,—and in a certain degree the habit—of being very idle and lazy, only willing to work when they cannot procure what they want by any other means. For instance,—if you wish a native to do anything for you which will perhaps occupy him three or four days, you must only give him as much rice and tobacco as will suffice him for one day ; if you give him more, he will not return so long as he has a bit left ; but if you give him barely sufficient for the day, he is at his post next morning. They are great cheats, thieves, and

liars ; and like most wild people are impatient of control, and seldom remain constantly in service, however well treated. It was not unusual for the young men to become attached to the officers, and to attend upon them as servants. While thus occupied, the reclaimed savage, clad in trousers of duck, a shirt of check, a many-coloured jacket, a pair of purser's shoes or his master's old boots, and a straw hat, would strut about the settlement, admired by the belles and envied by the beaux, for a very variable period,—generally a few weeks, sometimes three or four months. At last, some fine morning, all that remained of this faithful domestic would be his finery. The novelty had worn off ; he had grown tired of civilised life, and had gone away to amuse himself after the manner of his countrymen. Again, when the novelty of travel had passed away, he would return to his master and resume his finery and former occupation for another season.

Such is the freedom of savage life. Each individual in the community is his own master : there is no king, no governor, no magistrate, no leader ; even the elders and the parents have no absolute authority over the younger people : the youngest child is impatient of control, and will resist with his spear any attempt at coercion or tyranny. Old people, however, are treated with becoming respect and consideration, and have some privileges and immunities. One of the greatest privileges of old men, and one of which they always avail themselves, is that of betrothing to themselves girls when very young, and

marrying them when they arrive at mature age. A man of fifty years of age becomes betrothed to a girl of seven or eight, and marries her when she is about eleven. The consequences are much the same as might be expected in any society : the young lady is besieged by less fortunate and more suitable admirers. On the other hand, the old gentleman has his eyes wide open, and jealousy keeps him constantly on the watch. Hence it not uncommonly happens that the youthful couple are surprised by the barbed point of an ugly spear, passing violently through some fleshy part of their sable frames. The wounds, however disagreeable, heal more rapidly than those inflicted by Cupid's darts : young people will be young people to the end of the chapter ;—they flirt on ; the old man, in his fits of jealousy, maims and sometimes kills, but is at length destroyed himself by the cares and anxieties of watching his juvenile spouse. Beauties are frequently carried off by force, often change lords and masters, and give rise to many quarrels,—in short, are much the same as in more civilised states.

The natives are tolerably long-lived ; but the average age is not so long as among more civilised people. They look older than they are. They never know their ages, having no means of counting ; in most matters they reckon by moons. The increase of population is kept down by various means : by infanticide—particularly of female children. What a revolting custom, to have prevailed in all ages, and to have been so widely spread ! It

is even pathetically alluded to in the Koran. "On the last day," says the passage, "the female infant that has been buried alive will demand—'For what crime was I sacrificed?' and the eternal books will be laid open."

"I saw their infant's spirit rise to heaven,
Caught from its birth up to the throne of God :
There, thousands and ten thousands I beheld
Of innocents like this, that died untimely
By violence of their unnatural kin,
Or by the mercy of that gracious Power
Who gave them being."

The practice of infanticide is more general in Australia than is commonly imagined. The unnatural check is further assisted by the use of violent means to nip the embryo bud ; and by diseases of children, which are various, brought on chiefly by neglect of cleanliness and by improper food. In other respects, children are very kindly treated by natives,—they are never beaten nor punished, how naughty soever they may be : when very troublesome, the mothers put them on the ground, and leave them for several hours. The children bear it most philosophically,—play with wild flowers until tired, then go to sleep. Children are often suckled by their mothers until three years old : those born deformed are generally destroyed ; idiots are never seen ; perhaps they are likewise so provided for. Polygamy is allowed. Wives are of much importance ; they perform all the labour, and collect food for the family while the men sleep. The men did not show any violent symptoms of jealousy of the white men : they were always willing that their wives

should make themselves generally useful to the Europeans for a consideration of pipes, tobacco, or grog. Occasionally a child would be born differing considerably in colour from its mother ; but these *lusus naturæ* were generally destroyed by the natives : only one was allowed to attain to any degree of maturity, and was so overfed by both Europeans and natives, that the removing of the settlement has most likely been the means of the child's escaping death by apoplexy.

One day a native, in a fit of jealousy, threw a bamboo spear at his wife, which passed through her neck. The spear was an inch in diameter. The jagged portion was cut off, and the handle withdrawn. Little bleeding took place ; but it was supposed that extensive inflammation and suppuration would be the consequence of so large a contused and lacerated wound. Such, however, was not the case. The accompanying fever was high, and placed the patient's life in jeopardy for a certain period. She was kept in the settlement some days, and had medical attendance. Native doctors came to see her occasionally, but did nothing to her, until one day, when she was very much better, one of them said with much seriousness that he could cure her. He commenced forthwith to rub her back-bone with his hand, and, like his more civilised brethren, to look wise. After having continued this powerful remedy for some minutes, he took his leave, assuring his beholders that he had cured her. In a few days she rejoined her friends in the bush, spreading the

fame of her sable doctor far and wide, to the no small mortification of the learned *Æsculapius* of the white men.

The natives bear pain remarkably well. Some of their spear-wounds are frightful. They willingly submit to the most painful operations without murmuring. They show the like indifference to suffering in raising scars on different parts of their bodies, for the purpose of adornment.

The natives are very fond of dancing and singing. The dances are performed by the young men. In their regular dances the women do not join ; but they can dance, and gracefully too, after their own fashion.

The bodies of the dancers are grotesquely, but very skilfully, painted with different coloured clays. They are wonderful mimics, and are fond of representing in their dances the habits of various animals,—the kangaroo, native companion, wild fowl, &c. Their movements are graceful and complicated,—sometimes indelicate : they afford good opportunities to the young men to display their figures and agility. When two or three tribes meet, dancing is carried on with great spirit. The music consists of a bamboo tube, about a yard long, through which a monotonous sound is transmitted by the performer's breath—the beating of one stick against another—the clapping of hands—also the beating of the open hand against the hollow parts of the limbs and body.

The natives are also fond of singing. Their songs, which consist of a few words often repeated, are generally obscene ; their conversation is almost always so. They prefer their own singing to ours : they think ours tame, and always do us the favour to laugh at our best efforts. Some of them admired our band, but I believe they preferred their bamboo flute.

CHAPTER XXI.

NATIVE ENCAMPMENTS—DANCES—REVENGE—PUNISHMENT OF MURDER—ACCIDENTAL
HOMICIDE—PERSONAL AND SOCIAL HABITS—WILD HONEY—KANGAROO HUNTING
—WILD DOGS—THE EMU—WILD FOWL—HUNTING—A NIGHT IN THE JUNGLE—
FLIES—GESE—THE DUGONG—NATIVE COOKERY—FEUDS—DISPOSAL OF DEAD—
FIRE SIGNALS—NATIVE GUIDES—ALLIGATORS—WHITE ANTS—ESSINGTON SETTLE-
MENT—CAPE YORK.

A NATIVE ENCAMPMENT consists of a number of fires, with sheds made of the branches and bark of trees. Each family has its own fire and huts. Strangers, when present, have fires for themselves. It is not considered etiquette to approach a fire without an invitation from the master of it. It is a curious sight at night to see, in the midst of a wild forest, a whole tribe divided into groups thus disposed around so many fires. The glare reflected from the foliage, and from the dark faces of the people, has a strange and striking effect. The time is passed in a variety of ways,—chatting, singing, courting, dancing; some doing many of these together. Occasionally, some withered old hag will suddenly start up, and break forth

in a wild and loud recitative, referring to past scenes, or to some death which remains unavenged. Instantly all other occupations are laid aside, and the crone is listened to with a death-like silence. The audience become gradually excited as the narrative proceeds, and the old devil works herself into a frenzy, until at length the excitement in the camp has reached such a height that men scarcely know what they are about. It is not then safe for strangers to be present ; and woe betide the unhappy man belonging to any tribe from which an insult has been received and not avenged.

Shortly before the abandonment of the settlement of Port Essington, the natives were occupied as above described in their encampment within a few hundred yards of the garrison, when an old woman commenced her infernal chaunt about a murder committed long before by the tribe of a poor wretch present, and who had been living on the best terms with the Port Essington tribe for nearly three years previously. The usual effect was produced on the hearers. Directly the stranger saw what was coming, he started up and ran for his life, in the direction of the garrison ; before, however, he could reach that place of refuge, his frenzied pursuers had speared him to death. The poor fellow had never committed an offence against his murderers. The actors in this tragedy, far from being ashamed of their treachery and cowardice, boasted of it as a noble deed, and laughed at sympathy being shown for such a *monster*.

The feeling of revenge never dies in the breasts of these people till gratified. It must be vented on some person, no matter whether innocent or guilty. In spite however of these little outbreaks on the part of the old hags, and the known treachery of these people, individuals will frequently be found visiting strange tribes.

Wilful murder is punished by the death of the murderer or any one of his friends ; they are not over-nice in these matters. Accidental homicide is punished by spearing through the legs, thighs, arms, &c., according to circumstances. A native who does not avenge the death of his relative becomes an outcast ; the men mock him, and the women spurn and ridicule him.

These people are an odd mixture of cleanliness and filth : they frequently bathe ; after which I have seen them, on lying down to sleep, cover their bodies with dust and dirt, to keep the flies off. They resemble in their cleanly habits the cat and other animals.

The natives are very generous to each other ; they divide whatever they get,—articles of food or raiment. Give a native a piece of cloth, he tears it up and gives a portion to each of his friends ; give him rice, he shares it in the same way. There are, however, exceptions to every general rule ; and I regret to state that if a native gets anything very good and rare, such as a glass of grog, he does not take much trouble to seek his friends, but disposes of it very quietly to his own private comfort ;—but this is

contrary to good manners, and would be considered highly improper, if known.

The natives may be said to be omnivorous ; they devour all kinds of animals, and a great variety of roots and fruits. They do not use salt with their food. The quantity that a native can stow away is incredible.

You see a thin half-starved fellow, with his belly drawn to his back-bone, turn to at a bucket of rice ; leave him for a few minutes, and on your return you would scarcely recognise in him the individual you saw so shortly before : he is now bloated and dull ; his stomach is distended and hard ; his eyes refuse to remain open ; and while you are pitying the animal, he falls asleep like the reptile of his forest.

Wild honey is a favourite food. The bee which collects it is about the size of our ordinary house fly, and is not provided with a sting. The swarm is not so numerous as ours. They take up their abode in the hollow trees and branches, and collect enormous quantities of honey : it is said to be sweet and very wholesome. The natives discover these collections, either by watching the bees going into the hollow trees ; or tapping at trees, when the bees, if any are established there, issue forth ; or by listening to their hum. When they have discovered their prize the branch is cut off, or the tree opened with their axes. The combs are so slender that the honey soon issues from them in a thin fluid. They make a bucket of the bark of a tree, and break up the inner bark into a substance resembling

tow, with which they sponge up the honey ; they thus collect it all in the bucket. As they proceed on their journey, one of these sponges is handed round for each to have a suck as long as it contains any of the sweet plunder. The natives are not provident of food, nor of anything else ; they never look beyond the wants of the present moment ; they do not provide for the future like the little insects they so cruelly rob. If you give them provisions enough for two days, they will eat as much as they can the first, and allow the remainder to be wasted.

The Kangaroo is here a favourite article of food, but it requires trouble and labour to procure, and is therefore rarely seen. There are five varieties of these animals about Port Essington. The largest, which weighs about 100lbs, found in the hilly parts of the country, is not so fleet as the other species, but fights desperately. The smallest kind weighs between six and ten pounds, and is very fast. The animal most commonly met with varies from fifteen to thirty pounds in weight ; these are generally found near the thick jungle. For a short distance their run, or rather their jump, equals the speed of an ordinary greyhound ; but they cannot keep up the pace long. When kangaroos are closely pressed by dogs, in the vicinity of water, they make for it. If the water is shallow enough to allow them to stand, they support themselves on their hind legs and tail, and in this position show fight : they try to drown the dog by holding him under water, or rip his stomach open with the long sharp claw of their

hind foot. A well-trained dog seizes the Kangaroo between the thighs, at the root of the tail ; this mode of assault seems judicious for the dog's own safety, and it disables the tail, upon which member the animal is so dependent in running. The muscles of these parts were generally found lacerated in kangaroos killed by dogs. The kangaroo is naturally a gentle, timid, playful animal, and capable of attachment to those who are kind to it. In our eagerness for sport we were cruel enough to shoot several, and I regret to say some carrying their young. When these latter had been deprived, by the death of the mother, of the pouch in which they had been so comfortably lodged, it was curious to see the dexterous manner in which, if perchance you held the nose of one of them anywhere near your coat pocket, or the opening of your shirt, the little animal would disengage itself from your grasp, and, performing a somerset, throw itself coiled up into the bottom of this imaginary pouch.

It is very interesting to see a native kangarooing. All his energies, instinct, and cunning, are brought into play. When he comes to a place likely to contain game, he becomes watchful and excited, his eyes roll about, his ears appear to stand out, his body erect, and as steady as a statue. After a while he moves, his step noiseless and cautious. When he sees a kangaroo he becomes rivetted to the spot ; not a movement of either body or limb is discernible. The uninitiated observer at a short distance looks in vain for the cause of this attitude : after straining

his eyes for some time he at length perceives the head of a kangaroo peeping over the long grass, in the direction of the native. The two animals watch each other for a variable period, until the kangaroo, which has persuaded itself that the motionless object before it is likewise lifeless, has gone down again on all fours, to dig a root or play with its young. The dark object then moves with measured pace towards his victim, which soon takes another peep to see if all is right. The native again assumes his fixed attitude : in this way he keeps advancing with most extraordinary care and patience, sometimes for nearly an hour, until within range of his game ; then the fatal spear is placed in the throw-stick, by a sort of magic, for no apparent motion accompanies the operation ; the weapon is poised—and sent with unerring aim, and fatal effect. The native or natives now, with hideous yells, pursue the wounded animal, which of course does all in its power to escape, but is soon obliged by pain or loss of blood to cease running : it then takes up a position with its back to a tree or rock, determined to defend itself or its progeny ; but a few well-directed spears from a short distance soon decide the contest. Poor kangaroo dies, is carried away in triumph, and is soon devoured.

Large hunting parties are often made by the natives to procure a supply of kangaroo. A place known to contain these animals is surrounded, the brush-wood set on fire, and the animals speared as they issue from it. This is

very exciting to the natives. They also watch for them at places where they come to get fresh water, and then spear them. But the most laborious way of taking the kangaroo is by tracking ; success by this method is considered highly honourable : it requires great perceptive instinct, and a knowledge of the jungle, besides the power of enduring fatigue, hunger and thirst. The pursuit of an animal in this manner lasts sometimes forty-eight hours, before it is taken. The native, when it gets dark, lights his fire, sleeps on the trail, and starts again at daylight in pursuit of his victim.

The wild dog is a great enemy to the kangaroo. This animal generally hunts alone, but they are sometimes met in packs, when their howling is very musical and plaintive, though apparently ominous and depressing to the spirits of our domestic dog, who, when his ear is thus greeted, seems to consider it the better part of valour to keep close to his master. The wild dog is of a light sandy colour, with a short strong brush similar to that of the fox, but smaller. He is very cunning and strong, and his bite is severe. The greatest animosity exists between the native and the domestic dog. They wage constant war, and avail themselves of any superiority of force to worry one another.

A hunting party with the garrison pack was in pursuit of one of these wild dogs, when they observed him rush into the water ; but, on arriving at the spot almost immediately afterwards, they were surprised to find no trace of him. Men and dogs stood wondering for some

time : at last a bubble made its appearance on the surface of the water ; and, on looking carefully at the spot, they saw the black tip of their friend's nose just visible on the surface. The attention of the dogs was directed to him : they dragged him forth and worried him, but could not kill him. He had, poor brute, cunningly placed his body under the root of a mangrove tree, to prevent its floating, and kept the end of his nose above water for the purpose of respiration. These dogs commit fearful ravages among the flocks in the cooler and more southern parts of Australia, and more than double the owners' expenses, from the number of shepherds required to keep watch against them. They are unknown in the more fortunate Van Diemen's Land, where there is a heavy fine on the importation of them. Sheep do not thrive in Northern Australia. The natives about Port Essington tame these dogs, when they catch them very young ; the women suckle them with their children.

Emus are frequently met with ; they afford good sport with the kangaroo dogs. It requires two strong dogs to kill one of these birds. They kick with great force both before and behind : for a short distance they can run very fast.

On the breaking up of the Raffles Bay settlement, some water buffaloes were left behind ; these have since increased considerably, and are very wild.

There are few parts of the world where wild fowl and game are so abundant as in the northern portion of

Australia. In addition to geese, and ducks (of which there is a great variety), pheasants, quail, jungle-fowl, and pigeons, the sportsman may vary his amusement by stalking the native companion (ibis), and on his way home may empty his gun into a pelican.

During our stay several shooting parties were made up. The best of the lagoons before mentioned are situated on the eastern side of the harbour : there is a succession of them, at various distances,—three, ten, or seventeen miles, from the place where we landed. The journey by land to some of them may be shortened ; but only by first making a circuit of some miles on the sea.

The jungle through which we rode was open below, and shaded overhead. We were attended by some natives, who joined us for the sake of what they were likely to get to eat ; they carried our ammunition, provender, and tents. We were likewise followed by some of the Marines composing the settlement,—I have seldom seen a finer-looking, or better-behaved set of young men than those who composed the garrison at Port Essington. Among these there were a few who, having a taste for the sort of life, had for years supplied the settlement with game, and who had become such experienced hunters as greatly to excel even the natives in sagacity, and in all that appertains to the mysteries of the jungle. These men alone were enough to make a bush-party agreeable. Highest in military rank was Sergeant Copp, a steady, untiring, keen sportsman. Corporals Rowe, Chalford, and

Jeffries, were all good shots, good-tempered, hard-working fellows, for whom the natives would do anything. It was wonderful to see the dexterity with which they would light a fire, and erect a bush hut. They were all good cooks; private Crayton super-excellent. He had been a London butcher, and was a sharp intelligent fellow. Let me mention, though last, certainly not least, a man named Hutchings; a huge fellow, rough and ready,—a very fag. He used to prefer going away alone, and never returned empty-handed; more generally hung round with game; fifteen or twenty geese; a whole flock of ducks; a native companion or two, as long as himself; two or three kangaroos, and a handkerchief full of small birds (specimens of natural history), the only part of him visible being his great red face, besmeared with perspiration and blood. He was a powerful and most daring fellow. On one occasion he found near the hospital a large alligator, floundering about in shallow water: he attacked him single-handed, caught him by the tail, and held on by main force until assistance came, when the brute was killed. I am afraid this fine fellow has bought his discharge from the Marines, and has gone to cut timber in New Zealand.

When I saw the iron frames, and comparatively healthy appearance of *these* men, their wonderful endurance of fatigue, and considered what they must occasionally have undergone, in exposure to the sun by day, and to the dews by night, I could not help thinking

that the sickness, which prevailed in the garrison, was as much owing to the want of mental and bodily exercise, as to any unhealthiness of climate.

At the time of our visit to these extensive swamps, they were, with the exception of occasional patches and a few holes, quite dry and covered over with a crust of hard clay sufficiently strong to bear our own weight, but not that of our horses: the latter were nearly fixed on more than one occasion.

It was late the first day when we arrived on our ground; and we had only time to light fires, and pitch our tents on the banks of a stream of fresh water, when the sun went down.

Long before the break of day we heard,—first that peculiar noise occasioned by the wings of wild fowl passing rapidly through the air, not many yards above our heads; then came the low, distant cackle of geese, and the strange noise of the whistling duck passing to and fro. I believe we were all alike in a nervous state of excitement. Daylight came at last; but with it excitement of another kind. No one experiencing what we did, could ever forget the myriads of flies that appeared at the same time. Everything was black with them—the ground, the air, our food—they clung to our clothes, they stuck to our faces: to rid ourselves of them, we stripped, and rushed into the water, diving to get clear—but no! they would hover about, and swarm on any part of our bodies that appeared above the surface. We were not entirely free for one

moment, until we left them and our sport together. Never before had I fully appreciated the misery of that particular plague of Egypt. By spreading a silk handkerchief over the head, and keeping it in its place with a light straw-hat, we succeeded in protecting our necks and faces from the thickest of them ; and as there was just sufficient wind to keep the corners of the head-dress flapping about, we thus partially disappointed our tormentors. With the exception of this one drawback, better sport we could not have had. There was room for any number of guns. The geese have one peculiarity,—they perch upon trees ; so that an unskilful sportsman may have, in his way, as much amusement as the man who brings down his geese right and left from a considerable height while on the wing.

In spite of the flies we remained several days in nearly the same locality, shifting our position occasionally. Those who disliked the flies, and preferred more violent exercise, found it in the pursuit of kangaroo, which, when obtained with some pains and labour, afforded very good soup. The geese and ducks, also, we found delicious eating.

The lagoons are excellent places for sport. They are between two and three hundred acres in extent, surrounded by forest trees, and with numerous little retiring coves about them in which we might conceal ourselves, and watch for the game ; but, except as retreats from the sun, which was oppressively hot, these hiding places were

not necessary, as the geese were such geese that they did not understand the use of powder and shot ; and at the same time seemed to imagine that on the top of a tree they were safe. If after a while one particular set got more knowing, there were other lagoons with fresh geese at no great distance. The natives will kill almost every kind of bird with their spears and throwing-sticks. With water-fowl they are so expert that, by stealing close to them, or lying motionless for a length of time in one of the patches of water which these ducks and geese frequent, when the lagoons are dry, they catch them with their hands. On observing, while shooting, a spot that looked as if it had only just been quitted by some wild beast, and not feeling quite comfortable, I questioned the native who was with me as to what it meant ; he immediately imbedded his own body into the muddy hole ; and, had I not seen him go in, I certainly should have trodden on him. This is one of their ways of taking a dirty advantage of the game.

There is a great variety of excellent fish in the harbour of Port Essington. The natives procure abundance of them by spearing. Turtle abound along the coast, and are their favourite article of food, in which taste they are not peculiar. The eggs likewise they are very fond of ; but the creature for which they will go any distance is the dugong, a herbivorous animal of the order cetacea, about eight or nine feet in length, sometimes more, covered with a tough skin nearly an inch in

thickness, and under which is a layer of fat much prized by the natives, not only as an article of diet, but for the purpose of anointing their hair and bodies. The head is small in proportion to the body ; eyes and apertures for the ears small also ; tail broad and crescent-formed, and very large in proportion to the size of the animal. It has two large tusks ; the bones are dense and heavy. It is found in the Indian Seas generally, but abounds in the shallow waters on the northern coasts of Australia, where the natives spear it. The female produces one at a birth, and has a very strong affection for her young. When a young one is caught, the mother is sure to fall a victim, as she will not forsake her offspring. The Malays have a saying—"As affectionate as a dugong." The young are supposed to shed tears, and the Malay ladies think by collecting them to win the objects of their affections. I doubt, however, whether my North Australian friends are so romantic ; but if they do not value the tears, they certainly appreciate the flesh and fat ; for a blow-out of this dainty they will make more than a day's journey, and talk of it for a week afterwards.

Oysters are abundant ; those that grow on the trees are the best eating. It would be tedious to enumerate all the animals and vegetables that the natives use as food : indeed it would be difficult to say what they do not eat.

They are not generally very nice in their cooking. While out on our shooting excursion, I observed one fellow pulling the feathers off a goose : while so employed

his eye caught the tip-end of the tail of an iguana, an animal of the lizard kind, about four feet long, which was creeping up the opposite side of a tree ; he tossed the goose without further preparation on to the fire, and ascended the tree as easily as Jack would run up the well rattled rigging of a man-of-war. He almost immediately returned with the poor animal vainly struggling in his scientific grasp : it was the work of a minute to secure it to a stick of about the same length as itself to prevent its running away, when it was made to change places with the goose, which, being warm through, was considered to be sufficiently done. The whole goose he devoured, making no bones, but spitting out the feathers ; then came the iguana's turn, which, although less tender, was not the less relished. It appeared to require great muscular strength to detach the flesh from the skin. The operation being finished, he lay down to sleep. His wife, having sprinkled him with dirt to keep the flies off, was proceeding to eat the skin of the iguana, when the arrival of some more geese offered her a more satisfactory repast.

The trepang or sea-slug, is an article of commerce on the north coast ; it is found in almost all the sheltered harbours. The Macassar prahus come annually for it, and carry away considerable quantities for the China market.

It is during these trading visits that the Malays and natives have frequent quarrels. The Malay, who, in addition to his natural haughtiness, assumes the impor-

NATIVE BIRK, TOP ENGINEERING

tance to which he imagines his religion (the Mahomedan) entitles him, looks down on the native of Australia as little better than a wild hog, and would thrust his kris into him with less ceremony, inasmuch as he could not touch the unclean beast without being defiled. The native, however, true to his own creed, has life for life ; the Malay, being aware of this, endeavours to smother his hatred until just about to depart ; but the native neither forgets nor forgives. It is immaterial to him who his victim is ; so that it often happens on the arrival of a prahu, that before any commercial business is transacted the native has a score to wipe off of another sort. Interest and policy alone withhold for a while the kris and the spear :—a mutual hatred and distrust exist between them.

When a native dies, he is wrapped up in the bark of a tree, and bound round with cord. A stage is made, by placing two forked branches, eight or ten feet in height, upright in the ground, the forks uppermost, distant from each other about five or six feet, and facing the fork of a tree. A piece of wood is placed transversely, resting on the forks of the upright branches. A number of branches are then placed longitudinally, the ends resting in the fork of the tree and on the transverse piece. The whole slopes at a considerable angle, the uprights being shorter than the fork of the tree. This is done to prevent the lodgement of wet. Upon this inclined stage the body, wrapped in its coffin of bark, is laid ; and there it remains. Sometimes there is no stage, and the body, rolled up in a

bundle, is laid upon, or suspended from, the branch of a tree. These places of deposit are avoided by the natives ; they think evil spirits haunt them. A native would not go near one at night by himself ; but when they are obliged to pass them, they carry a fire-stick to keep off the spirit of darkness.

A fond mother will often visit the place of burial of a favourite child, and bear away its bones or a part of them. She often carries them about with her for years ; the skull is the part most usually chosen.

The poor wretch whom they murdered near the settlement was interred in the earth, a very little way below the surface. This is the mode of burial, I believe, for enemies or great offenders.

The natives have never disturbed nor defaced the graves of the Europeans buried at Port Essington ; they seem to have a decent respect for the dead. Whether they have done so since the breaking up of the establishment remains to be ascertained ; but I should think that fear of the white man's spirit would be quite sufficient to deter them.

In Northern Australia the natives have a very elaborate code of signals, by which distant tribes and parties can communicate. By managing the fire, they cause the smoke to ascend in a particular way, significant of some interesting event. Sometimes the column is great, of large diameter ; sometimes it is spare and thin ; sometimes it is light-coloured, and sometimes dark ; and so on. The whole tribe have been known to disappear suddenly after

seeing a signal of this kind, and keep away for several days. The great event generally is the discovery of a good supply of food.

We did not find the natives particularly clever in the jungle. When out of the beaten path, and when once they lost their way, they showed more stupidity than one would have expected ; in fact, I would under such circumstances much rather trust to one of the before-mentioned Marines, than to any natives of the five tribes inhabiting the Cobourg peninsula.

The natives were very provoking at times in the capacity of guides. They will not bear to be hurried ; they will walk slow, repeatedly sit down, pretend to look for fresh water, and loiter away the time in an endless variety of ways. If, feeling hungry and tired, and knowing the direction, you take the lead yourself, your guide will sulkily follow, and allow you to go wrong, or to pass the place he knows you are anxious to arrive at : and when at last you inquire, " Where settlement ? " with a disdainful look he points towards the place from which you have been travelling the last two hours.—You were right at first in the direction but misjudged your distance. You say to " Darkey," " What for you do this ? " He replies, " What for you take guide in bush ? " Of course none but strangers are thus caught. The native canoes are made of the bark of trees : they are frail vessels, and easily upset ; but this is of little consequence, as men, women, and children are all expert swimmers. It is not an uncommon thing to see

a party of from twenty to thirty persons set out to swim across the bay, the little children holding on to the hair of the grown people. They do not seem to have any fear of sharks or alligators.

An alligator has been known at Port Essington to rush out of the water, and seize a dog from the midst of a party of men working on the beach. In all parts of the world where alligators are found, they have shown a taste for canine flesh.

I may here introduce an extract from my Journal while in the Pacific, as well as a few other personal recollections of the alligator :—

On July 3rd, 1851—Off the Chumatkla River on the coast of Chili—we left the ship, a party of four guns, to shoot wild fowl. After some little trouble we succeeded in getting over the bar without accident, and with our ammunition dry.

The right bank near the mouth is formed by a narrow peninsula of sand, about a mile long, lying parallel with the sea-beach.

The first object that attracted our attention was a huge alligator basking on the bank of sand. We lost no time in drawing our duck-shot, and loading with ball. Our idea was to land some distance below, and walk up on the sea side of the bank until abreast of him, and then by creeping over the ridge to surprise the monster where he lay. This part of it we managed very well ; but, as he was not asleep, he gave us no time to aim at any

vulnerable part ; our bullets rattled against his back, as he glided off the bank into the river.

None of us however were prepared for the sight that awaited us from the top of this ridge of sand. Higher up, and about eighty yards distant, covering the bank for nearly as far up the river as we could see, were perhaps a thousand of these monsters. They had the appearance, from the confused mass in which they lay, of a forest of felled timber left by the tide at high water-mark, so motionless and unconcerned at our proximity did they appear. To fall back and re-load, in preparation for a regular battue, was the work of a minute. We passed up, as on the former occasion, as stealthily as a party of Comanche Indians could have done, but keeping about thirty yards in advance of one another. When at a proper distance, we made our appearance on the top of the ridge at the same moment, and within a few yards of the enemy. A more exciting or extraordinary sight it would be difficult to imagine. Our surprise could only have been equalled by that of the alligators : had they really been logs of timber, suddenly raised some two feet from off the mud and put in motion, it would not have appeared to us more wonderful or grotesque than the sight we then beheld. They made a general rush for the river ; but as scarcely any two of them were in the same position, and none of them prepared to " cut their sticks " so suddenly, their confusion was complete : they are awkward at turning, and appeared to tumble over one another, and

several of the huge upper jaws of the larger ones were thrown back, as if to resent the unceremonious manner in which they had received a slap in the face by the unwieldy tail of a frightened neighbour. As might have been expected, our hurried discharge of bullets into the "thick of them" had no more effect than those fired on the first occasion. Once in the water, they recovered their self-possession, and appeared to consider themselves secure: they passed up and down the river, floating within a few yards of where we stood, showing nothing above water for us to aim at more than a long ridge of shot-proof knobs. I observed several of them land again very shortly afterwards, both above and below us; and it occurred to me that if I were to lie down and remain quietly ready, gun in hand, on the sand, one out of the immense number in the river might possibly select the spot I had chosen to take his siesta. I had not been many minutes in that position, when I observed, by the motion of the water, that an alligator was making for the beach, and would probably land within a couple of yards on my left: no cat ever watched with more anxiety: I saw the tip of his snout touch the sand, and then his long head and glassy eye, followed by his yellowish throat and disgusting-looking arms: my gun had been pointed for the very spot. I looked along the barrel until I observed the hollow which lies behind the jaw; the fatal ball then penetrated his brain-box; he turned into the water, but could not escape; a deep red line carried down by the

tide showed how much he bled. Assistance came, and with a rope round his hind leg he was hauled on shore. He was not one of the largest, measuring only thirteen feet in length. I have his head together with that of another, eleven feet long, which I killed in the same way a few minutes afterwards. From what I have observed at different times, I imagine that alligators, although quick at seeing, do not hear. The report of a musket, although fired within a few yards, never appeared to disturb them while they were floating on the water. If on the mud a shot struck the bank within a yard of them, they seldom moved unless they saw you approaching.

It is difficult to know what is the favourite food of these animals. In the stomach of one of those I killed up the Tampico River, on the eastern coast of Mexico, vegetables were found ; in another were the feathers of a duck. I have observed them lying with their mouths wide open basking in a hot sun ; I was informed by a native that they catch flies in that manner, waiting until the mouth is covered with these insects and then closing it suddenly. I could not find anything like a tongue in the mouths of those I killed. I recollect while blockading the river Mowar in the Malacca Straits, in 1833, observing the natives poking with sticks under water along the bank ; they were feeling for the body of an old woman, who had been carried off by an alligator while drawing water. When they found the body, I observed the breasts had been eaten off as clean as if the operation had been performed by a surgical

knife ; the natives informed me that that was the invariable custom of these animals, and then they stowed the body away until in a decomposed state, when they suck the flesh from the bones.

Captain Ferrier, the resident at Wellesley settlement, once informed me of a Malay lad having come to him, and reported that, while sitting in the fore end of a canoe in which he was paddling across a lake, his father steering from the other end, he suddenly felt a jerk, and on looking round saw his parent disappearing down the throat of an alligator. My friend immediately took his gun and went with the boy, but saw nothing of the alligator that evening : the next day, however, the monster was seen floating on the surface of the water. The Captain went in chase, and without much difficulty came up with and shot the brute. The gas generated by the decomposition of the body had so inflated the alligator, that he could not sink below the surface. When the stomach of the animal was opened the lad immediately recognised his father, not so much altered in appearance as might have been expected from the strange cruise he had taken : although the skull and bones were crushed, the flesh on the face was not broken. The head of this monster is now, or rather was at the time I heard of it (1842), in London, in the Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

New comers in the jungle often pay dearly for seeking to gratify their curiosity, by prying too closely into the strange-looking abodes of the green ants. These insects

make a hollow cylinder of leaves, the interior of which is inhabited by thousands of them. Their bite is severe and poisonous; but the most destructive little animal is the white ant, which in a very short time would have saved us the trouble of destroying the settlement. At the time it was given up the houses were almost uninhabitable; some were tottering, some had already fallen, all were in a state of rapid decay through the agency of this destructive insect. They commence their operations from the ground by scooping out, in the most regular and systematic way, the interior of every post, stanchion, beam, or rafter. Should you imagine, after having given the upper part of your house a neat covering of green paint, and the lower part, what is still neater, a good dressing of coal tar, that, because your paint and your tar remain perfect, you have for one moment delayed the operations of those industrious little artificers, you are very much mistaken. The work of destruction is proceeding within, with a rapidity that is perfectly astonishing; and when some fine morning, your very neat-looking mansion comes down by the run, you discover that what remains of the once solid material, of which your domicile was built, has now all the lightness of the graceful and hollow bamboo without its stability. Sir William Burnett's solution of chloride of zinc *properly applied* is, I believe, the only composition yet known that will preserve anything from these all-devouring insects. We, (the *Mæander's*), had only remained long enough at Port Essington to be amused and interested

with everything we saw. We had enjoyed our excursions into the country, and the fact of my having the control over a quantity of damaged bread had made the natives very obliging. We had corobories and dances so often, that frequently afterwards the kangaroo dance was as well performed on the main-deck of the *Mæander*, many thousand miles from the place where it originated, as we had seen it on the spot.

We destroyed, according to orders, what still remained of the settlement. The buildings could have been of no service to the natives, and would have probably been the cause of bloodshed between them and the other tribes. I said one day to my friend "Bob", the intelligent savage, "Do you intend to take possession of the Governor's house after we are gone"? To which he replied with an air of indifference, "I suppose I must." I heard afterwards that it was the opinion of many in the tribe that "Bob" had grown so conceited that they would be under the necessity of putting a spear through his body, which they would probably do to the chaunt of some old hag.

We had another reason for not leaving the houses in anything like a habitable state: had they looked too comfortable, there would have been inducement to other parties to try their hands at a settlement on the same spot,—an object that was not considered desirable by the Government. I am afraid however that enough was left in the way of old iron, hoops, &c. to excite the cupidity of the Malayan traders, and to cause much quarrelling.

There is no doubt that there should be some port or refuge for disabled ships or wrecked crews on that coast ; and, as soon as the corrected charts of the surveys of that zealous and indefatigable officer, the late Captain Owen Stanley, shall have been published, the channel by the Torres Straits will be oftener frequented.

From the information I could collect, no point appears to be better adapted for the purposes required, either as a harbour of refuge or for the formation of a dépôt for coals, than Cape York. The spot itself is not only eligible, but it is the most convenient for the native trade with the Louisiana group, which again is the connecting link with New Guinea and the whole Indian Archipelago : it is moreover directly in the line, in case of steam communication that way with Sydney ; and it is close to the barriers and dangers where most of the wrecks have as yet occurred.

Since writing the above I have been favoured with the late Captain Owen Stanley's private journal, in which, after expressing his hopes that Port Essington might be abandoned, he writes, "But I do hope to see an establishment formed at Cape York or at Port Albany, which has all the advantages Port Essington wants, and is not more than a mile out of the way of a vessel going from Sydney to India." We left behind at Port Essington a number of cattle ; there were already many quite wild in the bush, that had escaped from the settlement at an earlier period : these will rapidly increase and multiply.

Several horses were likewise left. In our excursions I frequently noticed the foot-prints not only of horses that had been running wild for several years, but of young foals with them. Two fine kangaroo dogs appeared to be more valued than anything else by the natives.

The garrison marching down to embark, with the band at their head, did not excite sufficient interest to draw the natives (I must except a few of the softer sex) from their search for what they could find, among the ruins of the buildings.

After a lapse of years it will be an interesting spot to any of the early settlers that may chance to visit it, although the bush will soon spring up where the buildings stood : the cocoa-nut and fruit-trees will grow higher still ; the pine-apple, too, if in a soil that it likes, asserts its own, and will grow and spread in spite of all obstacles : in the Island of Penang it is considered a most troublesome weed to eradicate.

During our stay at Port Essington we lost our surgeon, Mr. John Clarke,—a man who by his kind and gentle manner and his amiable disposition had endeared himself to us all. His remains rest in the bush, in a shaded picturesque spot ; where also are deposited those of an amiable lady, the wife of one of the officers, with her two children. Poor Clarke contracted a disease at Hong Kong from which he never perfectly recovered.

CHAPTER XXII.

DEPARTURE FROM PORT ESSINGTON—BANDA ISLANDS—SPICE ISLANDS—CERAM—DUTCH
POLICY—BARTER WITH NATIVES—NEW GUINEA—ITS COMMERCIAL ATTRACTIONS
—ADMIRALTY ISLANDS—NEW IRELAND—PORT CARTARET—NEW BRITAIN—
SYDNEY.

WE left Port Essington for Sydney on the 1st December, 1849. Not being in possession of the late surveys of Torres Straits, we decided on taking the route by the Amboyna Sea, and Pitt's Straits, round the north side of New Guinea, and so to the southward, through the passage known as St. George's Channel, and to the eastward of the Barriers. As the season for the westerly winds had set in, we preferred this course to that by the western and southern coasts of Australia.

It was also necessary for us to proceed somewhere in quest of water ; by reason of the continued droughts, we did not succeed in obtaining more at Port Essington than was sufficient for our daily consumption.

Proceeding to the northward, and again crossing the chain of islands between the Serwatty and Tenimber

groups, we were brought by a few days' pleasant sailing to the Banda Islands.

These, and the adjoining group of Amboyna, are the principal of the Dutch Spice Islands, and are of no great size.

The principal islands of the Banda group are three in number ; Banda-Neura,—on which the town is built,—and Gunong Api, a volcanic island close to, and in a line with it : they have a narrow but deep channel between them. Opposite, and to the southward of these two, in a semicircular form, is the larger Island of Banda, having a rather narrow passage at either end. The space thus enclosed forms the very charming harbour of Banda.

We were becalmed in the western entrance ; and, while the current swept us up mid-channel to the anchorage, we furled sails, and hoisted our boom-boats out ; and when we came to, close off the capital, we were in proper harbour costume.

The view of the islands from the ship would form a very beautiful panorama. The picturesque town, which is built on a flat, ought, from the appearance of Fort Belgica above and in the rear of it, to be well protected.

Gunong Api, a striking feature in the scene, is high and conical in shape. Smoke issued from the top, but an eruption had not taken place for many years. From the crater downwards one-third of the distance it appeared a mass of cinders ; from that point vegetation commences,

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increasing towards its base, where stand many cottages and fishing-huts.

The opposite and more mountainous island surpasses the other two in beauty of appearance. The luxuriant growth of the forest and nutmeg trees, unobstructed by underwood, seemed to invite refreshment under their shade. Little rivulets of cool and delicious water run down from the highland to the harbour: from these we watered the ship. The woods abound in an endless variety of beautiful birds, especially of the pigeon sort. Deer are to be obtained with a little trouble.

Some of the merchants and most of the proprietors of the nutmeg plantations have houses on this side.

Nothing could exceed the kindness and consideration we received from every class of residents on these hospitable islands. There was nothing that the island produced, which could be considered a novelty to us, that we were not presented with. It would be difficult to describe the endless variety as well as beauty of the parrots and lowries that were sent on board; also the magnificent crown pigeon of Papua, nearly as large as a turkey: we had as many as eighteen at one time, three pairs of which were twenty months on board; and some of them are now in the gardens of the Zoological Society.

One very pretty compliment was paid to us, which I must not omit to record. A ball was given by the Governor in honour of our visit; and in the course of the evening, shortly before midnight, the dance suddenly

stopped, glasses were put into our hands, champagne flowed into them, and the health of Queen Victoria was proposed by His Excellency in an appropriate speech. We swallowed our wine as the clock struck twelve, the band playing our National Anthem, while a royal salute was firing over our heads from the Fort, during which we were expected to be continually emptying and refilling our glasses.

The following evening we were invited to a dance given on the opposite shore. Our boats were in requisition; and as they passed under the stern of the frigate at eight o'clock, we took advantage of that opportunity to return the compliment by saluting the Netherlands' flag, which we hoisted at the mast-head, and lighted up by port-fires at the yard-arms, giving His Excellency and family three British cheers.

Leaving Banda, *en route* to Pitt's Straits, we touched at the Ceram Islands, and, under the pilotage of Mr. James McArthur, came to, in certainly not the most secure-looking anchorage, under Ceram Laut.

The Island of Ceram is the second in size of the Moluccas, having an estimated area of about 10,000 square miles. Owing to the jealousy of my friends the Dutch, it is but imperfectly known. Their object, until of late years, has been the extirpation of the clove and nutmeg trees, so as to confine the monopoly to the islands on which they have established Governments, and thus keep up exorbitant prices for the small quantities

exported. They have yet to learn the advantages to be derived from free trade.

The mountains are from six to eight thousand feet in height, sending down innumerable streams to the sea. The vegetation is everywhere luxuriant, and the trees gigantic. I have now in my possession a circular slab of wood from the island, three and a half inches thick, eight and a half feet in diameter. The sago palm in particular is more abundant and productive than on any of the adjoining islands. Cloves and nutmegs grow wild.

The Malays have several settlements along the coast, and lend themselves usefully to the policy of the Dutch in carrying out their protective system ; we have only their prejudiced statements for supposing the aborigines of the interior to be the most bloodthirsty cannibals in the Indian Archipelago.

The Malays themselves, however, are cunning and enterprising traffickers, and carry on a great trade with the Chinese in *Bêche-de-mer*. They hoist the Dutch flag ; and while one end of the island claims the protection of Banda, the other has that of Amboyna. Our conchologists added considerably to their collections here. We did not remain long at Ceram.

There is always more excitement in navigating imperfectly-known seas, than in passing over the more frequented tracks ; and on the present occasion our charts were of little use. By anchoring in the evenings, and by keeping a good look out from aloft, and leads

constantly over the side, we were enabled to thread our way through strange places.

At noon on 21st December, we entered Pitt's Straits,—a narrow channel about forty-five miles in length, separating Batanta from Salawatty : these are two small islands, off the north-west coast of Papua or New Guinea.

We had been for some days past working up against a strong breeze with a proportionate sea. The sudden change into perfectly smooth water was very enjoyable. The sea was deep blue, as was the serene sky overhead : instead of looking out to windward for squalls with rain, we now gazed pleasantly on a luxuriant jungle which mounted on either side far above our mast-head. Beautiful birds in endless variety added life and interest to the scene ; nor did it decrease as we proceeded. As is usual in narrow channels, and under high land, we had the winds baffling,—coming off on either side in strong and sudden puffs, sometimes striking the ship aloft, without giving us the usual notice of such a visit by so much as a ripple on the surface of the water. The channel, too, was just sufficiently tortuous to prevent our seeing any distance before us ; so that, as each point was rounded, some pleasing variation would present itself in the already beautiful scenery, such as one can never be tired of looking at. Occasionally canoes came off, as the tide swept us along. The jungle was too dense for us to make out any habitations, but their locality was indicated by the appearance of that most useful of all trees, the

cocoa-nut, as well as by a break in the otherwise rock-bound coast, a patch of white sandy beach, on which there was not sufficient ripple to prevent the smallest boat from landing. Either fear or laziness prevented the natives from coming alongside in any numbers. I obtained two fine specimens of the black bird-of-Paradise, in exchange for an old musket. The rest of their cargoes were composed of fruits, bows and arrows, parrots, shells, spears, and tortoise-shell. The natives are well-proportioned, but ugly-looking savages, with a profusion of hair frizzed out in an extraordinary manner, which I have no doubt they thought very handsome, but which only impressed us with the idea of a dense harbour for filth and vermin.

As there is no anchorage, it is desirable that a ship should get through Pitt's Straits in one tide ; which feat we just succeeded in accomplishing by sunset. On emerging from the straits, we found the wind still blowing fresh from the westward, with a following swell, and a strong easterly set ; but, as our course now lay in that direction, before the following morning we were many miles on our voyage, and thereby missed seeing a large portion of the northern coast of New Guinea, a country about which there appears to be more interesting mystery than any we had visited.

The interior of this magnificent island, 900 miles in length, is less known even than Ceram, or any of the Indian Archipelago ; and yet it is supposed not only to

abound in minerals, but to possess a fertility of soil, and—from its tiers of hills rising into distant mountains—a variety of climate capable of producing every fruit or vegetable that grows within the tropics.

For the naturalist I believe that no country in the world is equally rich in beautiful rare birds and beasts.

The little we saw of the natives confirmed what we had heard,—that they are a finer race than any of the islanders : nor do I believe that their ferocity and cannibalism is carried to the extent reported. A few communities along the coast may, from former ill-treatment by the more civilised pale-faced man, have become suspicious and treacherous ; but I would fain hope that a country, on which Nature appears to have been so bountiful, is not marred in its principal feature, by possessing a race of inhabitants such as they have been described.

The country of New Guinea offers an inviting and unbounded field to the philanthropist. The well-directed operations of a few high-minded capitalists—nay, of one individual of exactly the right stamp—might open such a market for European productions as would soon return any preliminary outlay “tenfold into their bosoms.” New Guinea invites and calls for a just Government, and a system of protection to the oppressed, as once did Sarāwak. There are similar materials to work upon : but not every day are individuals to be found willing to

sacrifice health and fortune for the benefit of strangers and succeeding generations.

We did not notice any canoes off the New Guinea coast. This may be accounted for by its open and exposed position. On the southern side, which is protected by a coral reef, the natives appear to live as much on the water as in their jungle. The smoke rising in various directions on the higher ground was proof to us that the population extended considerably into the interior.

On the 23rd December we passed between the Islands of Mysore and Jobie, both mountainous.

24th.—We passed Point D'Urville. It had been our intention to visit Humboldt Bay, as laid down in the chart, that we might see something more of that country and its people ; but to our disappointment the strong current carried us past it in the night.

As the New Guinea coast now declined to the south-east, we stood on for the Admiralty Islands.

On the 29th we made Purdy's Islets, which, by our reckoning, were twenty miles further to the eastward than is laid down in the chart supplied by the Admiralty. They are small low islands, covered with trees ; and the Bat, which appears as two islands, has shoal-water and reefs round it. The shoal marked "Breakers" in the chart does not exist in the position there given ; nor do I believe it to exist at all. The Mouse and Mole do not appear to have any dangers near them. The smaller

of the two Bats is covered with cocoa-nut or palm-trees.

30th.—We observed a succession of islands ; and steered for one that appeared the easternmost of the Admiralty group. On nearing the land just after midnight, and obtaining no soundings with the deep sea lead, we sent boats ahead to sound ; this being observed by the natives, whom we supposed to be fishing, no small consternation among them was the consequence, as they made known to us by a proportionate yelling.

The wind having died away, the tide carried us into about fifty fathoms' depth of water, where we held on with the kedge-anchor, until daylight should appear.

If our boats had created a sensation among the savages, great indeed was their surprise at the appearance of the ship. The noise produced by blowing into a shell of the Triton species was everywhere heard ; and having, I doubt not, buried or otherwise concealed a vast quantity of rubbish, they disappeared themselves ; so that shortly after daylight there was not the vestige of a habitation nor a human being, besides ourselves, to be seen.

It was curious to watch, when they found that we took no steps to draw them out, how carefully and cautiously the savages came from their hiding-places. One emerged from the bush, naked as he was born : we thought, at first, that this was his way of proving to us how little we might expect to get from him ; but they were all in the same

undress uniform. Then another would come forth, spear in hand ; soon after, the snout of a small canoe was seen to protrude from under the bush. It would be tedious to enumerate the cunning and cautious "dodges," the number of times they retreated and again hid themselves, on the slightest movement on our parts, before any of them ventured to approach ; before 10 o'clock, however, the water, for a cable's length round the ship, was covered with grotesque canoes, and still more odd-looking natives.

A general barter soon commenced, accompanied by a noise and screeching that was deafening ; and reciprocal confidence was soon established. The natives are fine-looking men, of a dark olive colour, with long black hair, which they confine in a lump, at the back of their head, by a small hoop or band. There was one old lady with grey hair, seated under a canopy in her canoe, who was paddled round the ship several times, and appeared much interested in what was going on ; but she did not venture very near. We did not find out who she was. Several dialects were attempted between us, but none succeeded. Their canoes were of various sizes ; a few must have measured seventy or eighty feet in length, carrying about twenty men each.

On the morning of the 4th we passed to the northward of Sandwich Island, which is low and undulating : we found it thirty-five miles E.S.E. of the position it has on the chart ; and the coast of New Ireland proportionably out. We then ran along the land to the southward,—the

weather fine and the water smooth. The land of New Ireland appears to have one high long ridge, intersected by gullies and ravines, and covered with a dense jungle, which renders the scenery very beautiful.

We were visited along the whole length of the coast by a constant succession of canoes, with natives very similar to those of the Feejee Islands. Although they came alongside, none of them could be induced to come on board. They had a vast quantity of hair, frizzed out, and coloured white, black, or red.

A man, having his hair carefully divided down the middle, would present one side covered with a jet black mixture, while the other half would be of a bright red or perhaps white. The men, five or six in number, belonging to the same canoe, were generally coloured uniformly. Suppose a canoe with a black crew to have paddled up to one side of the ship ; presently, while your attention was occupied elsewhere, they would shift round to the other side ; but lo ! now the crew was white. It is not easy to believe that black is white ; yet here it was so : one and the same crew were black on the port and white on the starboard side. Others with their hair cut short, and covered over with some dirty thick gluey substance, would paint a white ring round the head just above the eyes and ears, with a line under the chin. It was difficult to believe that the head was not confined in a close-fitting scull-cap.

The symmetry of their shape was in no way hidden by

clothes, as paint was the only covering they condescended to wear.

One and all were clamorous for barter :—empty bottles, buttons, and bits of iron hoop, were most in demand. Clothes, or the materials for making them, were treated with great contempt. Their canoes were carved out of one tree, and generally from thirty to fifty feet in length : they have outriggers, to give them stability, which were very inconvenient for coming alongside.

We were puzzled at one time to make out the use of a curiously formed piece of wood, about four feet long, and in shape very like a whale boat, but solid : from a hole in the centre descended a strong cord of twisted rattan, forming a running noose, like a hangman's knot. The mystery was solved shortly after. As I was leaning out of the cabin windows, when there was just sufficient wind to give the ship steerage-way, I observed a shark swimming leisurely along some twenty fathoms below the surface. The natives from their canoes observed the monster about the same time. In a few minutes several of these oddly shaped buoys were dropped into the water. Some of our people fancy they saw them sprinkle a powder in a sort of magic circle round the buoys ; I did not observe them use any bait : what charm they used, if any, we did not ascertain ; but certain it is that the shark shortly after rose, and was fool enough to shove his head into the fatal noose, when he was as completely hanged in his own element as ever rogue was from the gallows tree.

The buoyancy of the float prevented his diving with it. Having flourished his tail about for twenty minutes, he was drawn up by his head on a level with the water, and there belaboured with the heavy end of their paddles until he seemed satisfied that further resistance was useless ; they then tumbled him bodily into the canoe, and hurried on shore amidst the yelling of the whole flotilla, where no doubt he underwent the further process of dissection.

On the 5th we diverged a little from the coast for Duke of York's Island, intending to water in Port Hunter ; but not finding it on the north side in the position described, the following day, after some little difficulty in threading our way between shoal patches and rocks, we anchored in the centre of some small islands which appeared to form a good harbour ; but we did not succeed in finding the watering-place.

These islands seem to be thickly populated. The natives are of a darker cast, and of a more savage expression than those we had lately seen. Several of them bore fresh scars, an attack having lately been made on them by some warlike tribe from the adjoining coast of New Guinea. Their canoes were much the same in appearance as those of the New Irelanders, except that a rough attempt was made to ornament the stem and stern with a representation of some nondescript bird or reptile.

We discovered afterwards that Port Hunter was

more on the north-east side of Duke of York's Island.

On the 8th we again crossed over to the New Ireland coast, and then stood to the southward, between that and New Britain, the scenery of which was of surpassing beauty. There were extensive green slopes, which, from a distance, appeared to have been cleared by cultivation : but we ascertained that such was not the case.

We now looked out for a harbour near the southern end of New Ireland,—discovered by and named after a Captain Carteret,—where fresh water was to be obtained : it is a place occasionally visited by English and American whalers,—as was proved by a salutation which met our ears, while we were standing in for the shore. “ What ship that ? ” shouted a black savage, one of a party in a canoe ; “ Tobac got ! ”—“ God dam ! ”—“ Rum got ! ”—“ Give rope ! ”—while delivering himself of these lessons in English and American, and without waiting for an invitation, he sprang into the main chains, and thence on the quarter-deck.

The manners of these savages were not at all improved by their intercourse with more civilised nations.

Port Carteret is formed by a bight in the land, protected by a small island called Coco : in fact it is nothing more than a channel between the island and the mainland of New Ireland, and so deep is the water that it hardly deserves to be called a harbour. We anchored in forty fathoms,—the best berth we could find,—close to

the north-east end of Coco. We were sheltered from any swell of the sea ; but we had not, in case of a breeze much room to veer in.

Fruit, yams, and pigs are to be obtained by barter, but no poultry ; nor did we see any after leaving Ceram, where no Malay is seen without a cock under his arm. The water, where we anchored, was so beautifully clear, that in forty fathoms deep the coral, shells, and seaweed growing on the bottom could be distinctly seen, and give it all the appearance of a beautiful submarine garden.

The creek up which we found the fresh water is on the New Ireland side, in the N.N.E. angle. It seemed formed by nature for a dock. Although there is not room to swing, there is great depth of water, and numerous large trees to which a ship of any size may be secured, head and stern.

While the ship was watering, we formed a party, and, under guidance of a savage who spoke and understood a little English, started off to visit one of their villages.

Having pulled along the beach to the northward for a short distance, outside the harbour, we landed opposite some fishing huts ; and, striking into the forest, followed a jungle path for about a mile ; this brought us to a collection of perhaps 200 huts ; they scarcely however deserved that name; each dwelling being nothing more than a circular hole, three feet deep, over which a thatch was thrown, and into which we were obliged to creep on all fours. The women were certainly not shy ; both sexes

were "dressed" alike in a small apron made from the bark of a tree. Furniture they had none ; and little to tempt us to prolong our visit ; while myriads of ravenous mosquitos made the usual attack on the pale skins.

Not seeing any gardens, and knowing the natives to have supplied the ship well with vegetables, we made them to understand our curiosity on the subject : they explained that their cultivated ground was further off, and offered to show us the way. They led us by a pleasant walk through the jungle ; we met on our way several detached parties of men, women, and children, carrying on their heads to the village the daily supply of vegetables, consisting of tapa, yams, cassava root, and plantains. Half an hour brought us to the banks of a broad and rapid stream, tumbling and roaring over rocks and large stones. The water through which we had to wade was about three feet deep. On the opposite side were the gardens. We were astonished, not only at the neatness and pretty appearance of the ground, but at the order that prevailed where no one appeared to rule. Each section of the village seemed to have its allotted portion. Parties arrived, cut, and carried their vegetables away in perfect quiet. Our party roamed about in twos and threes, while the savages were in tens and twenties ; this however was scarcely prudent, as they might, had they been in the humour, have easily disposed of the white men. All accounts describe the natives about Carteret harbour as not only grasping and avaricious, but treacherous and cunning cannibals. One man, who

spoke a little English, denied to me that they ever ate men : he, however, admitted that, when they killed an enemy, they occasionally eat the palm of his hand, or some such dainty bit. We got away from these dreadful characters without having been molested in any way,—although on the afternoon previous to our visit to the village, one of the officers had found it necessary to protect himself from robbery in a summary manner. He had been shooting, but had discharged his gun just before getting into a canoe with two natives, who offered to convey him on board. An attempt was made by them to take forcible possession of his watch ; but, being a very powerful young man, he threw one of the savages into the water ; and, standing over the other, prepared to break his head with the butt end of his gun, compelled him to paddle along-side.

On the whole, we were much pleased with this our first opportunity of seeing something of the domestic habits of these strange people.

Judging from recent sketches, taken during the visit of the *Rattlesnake* surveying-vessel, of the dwellings and natives on the south coast of New Guinea, I should think that their habits and customs are much the same as those of the people to whom we paid this visit. I have since been confirmed in this opinion by the perusal of Captain Owen Stanley's private journals. "In passing Rossell Island," he writes, "in shore we could see their habitations

beautifully situated under groves of cocoa-nut trees, with well-laid-out gardens around them, in which the plants were placed with as much regularity as any farmer in England would sow a crop of corn!"

Early on the morning of the 12th January we sent a division of boats to examine Wallis's harbour.

We got under-weigh in the afternoon, and late that evening picked the boats up. They reported Wallis's harbour as less safe than Carteret, and unfit for a large ship.

13th.—At sunset we passed Cape St. George, the southern point of New Ireland, and once more found ourselves in the open sea.

17th.—We passed the Laughlan Islands.

On the 20th we communicated with some natives on Rossell Island; but all the land in these parts is both misnamed and misplaced in the charts with which we were supplied. I have since found by reference to the excellent survey by Captain Owen Stanley, which will shortly be published by the Admiralty, that what we took for Rossell must have been the small Island of Adèle.

On the 5th February we again made the Australian coast, and on the 7th arrived at Port Jackson, Sydney.

The effect on entering this harbour is very beautiful: but just at this time it was much spoiled by a bush fire, which had overrun the country, destroying a great deal

of property ; and so rapid had been the spread of the conflagration, that even some lives had been lost. We found the *Rattlesnake* surveying-ship, commanded by my friend Captain Owen Stanley, who had just returned from an arduous and interesting survey of Torres Straits.

CHAPTER XXIII.

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PORT JACKSON—DRY DOCK ON COCKATOO ISLAND—VISIT THE INTERIOR WITH SIR CHARLES FITZROY—DEATH OF CAPTAIN OWEN STANLEY—SHORT MEMOIR OF HIS SERVICES—EXTRACTS FROM HIS PRIVATE JOURNAL—HIS FUNERAL.

I HAD long wished for an opportunity of visiting this fifth continent, Australia ; nor were the high anticipations I had formed of this fine colony at all disappointed, as we sailed into the splendid harbour of Port Jackson. The entrance to it would not be easily discovered from the sea, were it not for a very fine lighthouse, which, however, appears to me to be placed on the wrong headland ; and I can understand how it was that Captain Cook, in the first instance, overlooked it on his way to Botany Bay. I believe the opening between the headlands was first discovered by a seaman named Jackson, who observed it from the mast-head of a ship, in which he was passing to Botany Bay.

There is a splendid dock forming on Cockatoo Island, under the able superintendence of Mr. Mann, the advantages of which will be incalculable.

The following are the dimensions on which it was constructing when I was there in 1850 :—

Length.—Level of top altar from inside of pier	. . . . .	266 feet.
Ditto ditto keel floor	. . . . .	226 „
Breadth.—Interior level of top altar	. . . . .	76 „
Ditto of floor	. . . . .	34 „
Ditto at entrance H. W. level	. . . . .	57 ft. 3 in.
Ditto ditto top of piers	. . . . .	58 feet.
Height of pier over H. W. level	. . . . .	2 „
Water over Caisson sill	. . . . .	20 „

The rise and fall of tide may be stated at five feet, and the datum for the foregoing depth will be determined from H. W. mark spring-tides.

In the Governor, Sir Charles Fitzroy, I found a friend of many years' standing, and I cannot say how much I enjoyed my sojourn with him. His children I had known when they were of the same age as the grand-children who now enliven Government House : but however agreeable it may be to myself to dwell on this subject, it cannot be very interesting to my readers.

Sir Charles, who was going to make a short tour into the interior of the colony, not only kindly took me with him, but mounted me from his own first-rate stable ; and as His Excellency rode some six stone more than I could boast of, I never knew what it was, throughout the journey, to ride a tired horse ; fortunately also I had not left my leathers at home, so that there was no drawback to my enjoyment. While we travelled on horseback, a light van

conveyed our luggage, certainly the most agreeable mode of seeing any country.

As I can add nothing new to that which has been so lately described, in an interesting work by Colonel Mundy, I shall not attempt it here : it is sufficient to state that I partook of the hospitality and came in for a share of the sincere and hearty welcome, with which Sir Charles was everywhere so deservedly received.

It was while we were absent on this tour, and a little more than a fortnight after our first arrival at Port Jackson, that the naval service sustained a severe loss by the death of Captain Owen Stanley, of Her Majesty's surveying-vessel *Rattlesnake*. We had been many years acquainted ; and I cannot help availing myself of this opportunity of expressing my deep regret, and my sympathy with the many to whom he was so justly dear.

He was of modest and retiring habits ; and whatever his intentions may have been, I am not aware that he ever published any portion of the interesting private journal, which he regularly kept during the time he was employed on his various surveys.

At the anniversary meeting on the 26th of May, 1851, of the Royal Geographical Society of London, during an address delivered by Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N., after alluding to the deaths of several distinguished members of their Society, that officer thus proceeds :—

“ But geographically speaking, the greatest loss suffered by the society in the past year is that of Captain Owen

Stanley, son of the Bishop, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. After passing through the Royal Naval College, this officer embarked on board the *Druid*, frigate ; and, having served his noviciate in several ships, was appointed to the *Adventure*, Captain P. P. King, at Valparaiso, to assist in the exploration of the Straits of Magellan. This was his first initiation as a nautical surveyor ; and, in consequence of being placed under the tuition of some of my former officers, he was wont good-humouredly to claim scientific relationship with myself. Having been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, he was appointed to assist his friend, the present Captain Graves, in the Mediterranean, where he examined the Gulf of Lepanto, in a small boat, which he afterwards hauled over the Isthmus of Corinth, and rejoined his ship at Vourlah, after an absence of eighty-four days. In 1836 he was appointed to the *Terror*, Captain Sir George Back, on her expedition to the Polar Regions, in search of Sir John Ross ; and on this perilous voyage, he had charge of the astronomical and magnetic operations. He was afterwards appointed to the command of the *Britomart*, in which vessel he aided in forming the colony of Port Essington, and made a track survey of the Arafura Sea, with other work. He became a Captain in September, 1844, and in 1846 was appointed to the *Rattlesnake*, a small frigate expressly fitted for carrying on a survey in the Indian and Australian Seas.

“ Captain Stanley’s hydrographical labours in this

ship may be thus summed up :—A survey of Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope, on a large scale ; plans of Twofold and Botany Bays on the east coast of Australia ; a plan of the entrance of Port Jackson, to show how far that harbour is available for the largest class of ships-of-war ; a plan of Port Curtis and the entrance to Moreton Bay ; and eleven sheets of the north-east coast of Australia, from Rockingham Bay to Lewis Island, marking the inner route between the Barrier reefs and the main land.

“ He also re-examined eight channels through Torres Straits, five of which were previously unknown.

“ Captain Stanley in this charge, as in every task he undertook, devoted his whole time and energy to the fulfilment of the duties entrusted to him by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty ; and he was fond of scientific pursuits generally, beyond the usual acquirements of an ordinary nautical surveyor,—a class of which he proved himself, by his works, so able and distinguished an example. His health had been declining under the fatigues and anxieties attendant upon the arduous labour of surveying in inter-tropical climates, among coral reefs, strange currents, and many physical and moral evils ; and he had complained of illness on his passage from the Louisiade Islands to Port Jackson. At Cape York he first heard of the death of his brother, Captain Charles E. Stanley, of the Royal Engineers ; and, on his arrival in Sydney, he was informed of the decease of his father, the tidings of which were conveyed by his former Com-

mander, Captain P. P. King. These bereavements preyed upon his mind, and, acting upon a system already much debilitated, had a fatal termination, and brought his valuable life to a sudden close on the 13th of March, 1850."

In another part of Captain Smyth's address, under the head of "Our own Labours," he says, "Of the Australian Seas, the truly devoted exertions of the late Captain Stanley, have given to us in the southern coast of New Guinea a gratifying conviction that the Admiralty, having thus broken ground in the Pacific, will steadily advance from group to group, till its islands possess a somewhat less chaotic appearance in our charts."

Of all the different parts of the globe to which the scientific researches of our Hydrographical Office at the Admiralty, under its present enterprising Chief, Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, extend, there can be none of more interest and importance than that, on which the *Rattlesnake* had lately been employed.

Mrs. Stanley, having kindly favoured me with a perusal of her son's private letters, as well as journals, I am enabled, by a few extracts, to show what were his real feelings, and with what untiring zeal he pursued the duties of the charge entrusted to him. Those only who have perused these interesting manuscripts can form any idea of the intense labour and anxiety with which he had to contend.

The commander of a surveying expedition has not only to cut out the work to be done, but has to select those

officers who, from peculiarities of taste, are most likely to perform each duty well. Some will take to the calculating part; others prefer the boat-work; then there are naturalists, and artists, each anxious for an opportunity of indulging his particular fancy. Boats, too, have to be sent on distant service; in these excursions there are always chances of their coming into collision with the natives; sudden and frequent gales, too, spring up in those seas, causing much anxiety.

All these various duties require a clear head, and, to get them done properly, the example in the Chief of an evenness of temper and a happy cheerful disposition: these qualities my lamented friend eminently possessed.

The frequent prevalence of hazy weather about Torres Straits not allowing ships an opportunity of correcting their observations, so as to ascertain their exact position, imaginary dangers had been so often reported and inserted from time to time on the charts, that the surveys of Captain King had been cruelly altered and twisted about, and appeared anything but correct; the errors into which masters of vessels had fallen were attributed to strong and irregular tides, frequently stirring up the mud and sand, so as to give the surface of the water the appearance of shoals, when in reality fifteen or twenty fathoms were frequently found in such places. It afforded Captain Owen Stanley no small gratification to be able to prove that his friend's survey was a correct one.

The scientific details of the *Rattlesnake's* expedition

have been so recently published, that I will confine myself to a few extracts from private communications to members of his family, which may give the unprofessional reader some idea of a surveying officer's duties and responsibilities.

In a letter to his mother under date of Dec. 14th, 1848, he writes :—" We have completed ten charts, each of which contains more work and more soundings than the one you saw ; and as I can find no one who can shade the hills, and do the finishing part of the work, I do it myself ; and have in addition the final working of all the astronomical calculations, in order to detect any errors,—then come all the sailing directions for the different reefs and shoals how you are to steer, N. E. or N. W. till such a rock bears so and so. After this comes a general description of the various points and anchorages, illustrated by drawings showing their appearances from every point from which you may approach them : and lastly, a detailed account of the various steps and methods by which the survey has been carried on ; so that, in addition to my charts, I have a very large amount of information to send home, and no small quantity of writing."

After completing the survey of the inner passage, and visiting Port Essington, the *Rattlesnake* returns to Sydney, where she arrives Jan. 24th, 1849. "*Rattlesnake* leaves Moreton Bay May 26th, 1849, *en route* to survey the Louisiade Archipelago and southern coast of New Guinea.

“The S. E. trade having now fairly set in with fine weather, we are speeding merrily along across this unknown sea filled with coral reefs and shoals, to commence our work upon what is most likely the least known portion of the globe.”

It would appear that the French Expedition under D'Entrecasteaux and D'Urville contented themselves with distant views of the land from the outer edge of the Barrier reef, which they took great care not to approach too closely ; but with patience and perseverance Stanley hoped to be more fortunate.—On June 13th, his journal continues, “My birthday, and a better day could not be chosen for the commencement of our survey.” All that day, with the *Bramble* ahead, they search in vain for an opening in the coral reef “till the setting sun warned them off a coast where the lead is of little or no use.”

On the second day, after many hours' sailing, the *Bramble* observes a narrow blue line making a break in the Barrier reef ; she gets in and telegraphs—“the passage, although narrow, is practicable ;” and the *Rattlesnake* follows. “It was not,” he writes, “till we were fairly in it, that I saw how very narrow it was The water remained deep some little time, leading me to fear that we should not find anchorage inside ; but, after a few minutes of the most intense anxiety, I had the pleasure of hearing ‘Matthews’ sing ‘by the deep eleven.’” After anchoring, they observe a village near them, the natives so shy that the writer adds, “I think they

never can by any chance have seen Europeans before, for I am sure none but surveying vessels would have come through the channel that we did, guided almost entirely by looking down on the reefs from the mast-head ; we are now, thank goodness, fairly in for it, right in the inner part of the Archipelago, with every chance of being able to explore places no civilised person has ever yet seen."

* * * * *

"Amongst the many ornaments worn as bracelets by these people, we saw several who wore a human jaw-bone with all its teeth, a little above the elbow of the left arm." The upper side, to form the armlet, was formed (according to Mac Gillivray) by one or more collar bones crossing from one angle to the other, "one of which we obtained to-day at a very cheap rate. I have no doubt that a white man's skull would be the most precious thing they could possess ; and I am not quite sure that some of the naturalists on board would not be just as glad to get hold of one of theirs. I can fancy the Doctor and Mr. Huxly superintending the boiling down, and subsequent steps required to prepare a skull, should we by misfortune become possessed of one,—I say misfortune, because I hope to be able to continue the survey as we have commenced, without getting into any row with the natives, who, from what we have yet seen, appear to be much superior to those on the eastern coast of Australia, but are not to be trusted one inch."

These people must consult the same "*Magasin des Modes*" as the inhabitants of the "Pelican Island :"

"Bracelets of human teeth, fangs of wild beasts,
The jaws of sharks, and beaks of ravenous birds,
Glitter'd and tinkled round their arms and ancles ;
While skulls of slaughter'd enemies, in chains
Of natural elf-locks, dangled from the necks
Of those whose own bare skulls and cannibal teeth
Ere long must deck more puissant fiends than they."

June 25th, 1849.—Captain Stanley went away in his gig to examine a watering place, "and had to pull about a mile up a narrow winding creek, with the most luxuriant vegetation on each side, till at last we reached a rocky barrier extending from one side of the creek to the other, over which a most beautiful cascade of good water was falling, so as to ensure an abundant supply. As in these surveys water is always the thing that fails first, I cannot tell you the relief to my mind when we found such a supply, which will render us nearly independent till we reach Cape York."

July 2nd, 1849.—Having completed water, *Rattlesnake* proceeds a short distance further on.

July 4th.—On one occasion, being anxious to open a friendly communication with the natives, "having beached the galley," Captain Stanley writes :—"I landed alone and unarmed (except a small double-barrelled pistol in my pocket) and went towards the natives, who came forward in considerable numbers all armed with spears, and evidently very much inclined to distrust the nature of our visit. The galley's crew had orders to fire in case of any

attack being attempted on me ; but I must confess it was rather nervous work advancing alone, as the natives did not seem to wish to have any communication with us : but at last, having got within twenty yards of them, I tied a piece of coloured handkerchief to a stump on the beach and retired, making signs to them to come and take it. After some little hesitation one man came forward, the rest soon followed, and in less than five minutes I had the whole tribe round me eagerly asking for iron hoop".

July 6th, 1849.—“The pinnace and galley returned to-day from a four days' cruise, and reported having had a row with the natives.” It appears that three canoes containing about ten natives each went along-side first one boat and then the other, under pretence of barter, and then took to helping themselves ; on the boatman refusing to let them take the galley's anchor, they struck him over the head with a stone axe, while another struck the coxswain ; blows were exchanged ; the pinnace fired, and the natives ran away. Captain Stanley writes :—“I hope our friends have had a lesson which they will not forget in a hurry ; and our people too, in spite of all I could tell them of my experience to the contrary, were beginning to think that implicit confidence might be placed in these natives, as they seemed to be so much more civilised than those of Australia—but it will lessen our chance of friendly communication with them, which I am sorry for on the natives' account, as they might have obtained so very many valuable things from us.”

Captain Stanley remained at anchor under the reef sufficiently long to enable them to lay down the different observations that had been obtained for the construction of the charts. They then proceeded, directing the *Bramble* with some of the boats to continue the survey of the 'long-shore coast, while he in the *Rattlesnake* took the outer part of the work, as they could see much further from the more commanding height of the mast-head than from the boats.

July 10th, 1849.—“ So this morning away we all went most merrily, the ship with the two galleys skimming ahead like pilot-fish, to give notice of any shoal-water we might not see. As we neared the Barrier reef, the detached reefs became so numerous, and the channels between them so narrow, that I had to anchor in about as deep water as we had at Madeira, and send the boats to look round ; for it is very easy to get into a mass of these small reefs, with a fair wind ; but getting back again is not so easily done ; so that for the next two or three days we are most likely to be channel-hunting, which though of importance to us, will be of very little interest to you. From July 10th to 16th, we remained at an anchor off the Barrier reefs, and every day sent the boats away, in the hope of finding a practicable passage, but in vain. On the 15th, Lieutenant Simpson in the pinnace returned from the in-shore party, stating that there was every appearance of a clear channel to seaward from the point they had reached ; but in order to get there I had to retrace

my steps for more than thirty miles, and then had a most intricate passage to thread my way through, and it was very interesting and exciting work : first went the pinnace to show the way, Simpson and another man taller than he being perched on the spread yard to look out for shoals ; then came the two galleys, whose orders were to keep directly ahead of the ship ; and, lastly, under topsails jib and spanker, came the old ship, with Brown at the mast-head, Suckling and myself on the poop. To give you some little idea of the ground we had to go over, I merely mention two out of the many cases that happened : being anxious to come to, and having for some time obtained regular soundings, with from twenty to twenty-five fathoms, we took in the sail, and made all ready to let the anchor go ; but before giving the final orders one more cast of the deep sea lead was got, showing that in less than the tenth of a mile the depth had increased from twenty to forty fathoms,—rather too deep to anchor in—so we had to make sail again. In the second case the two galleys and pinnace about a mile ahead of the ship, but close to each other at the time, made the signal at having struck soundings ; the pinnace showed *thirty-five* fathoms, one galley *fourteen*, the other *five* ; directly after the pinnace showed *three* fathoms. Though the most careful look-out was kept from the mast-head, the shoals were often quite close to the ship before they were seen. Dirty weather—difficulty in finding anchorage—unknown danger—nervous work—especially at night.”

July 28th.—Soundings gained in 20 fathoms ; sail is shortened, and anchor let go ; but in the time required for taking the sail in, the ship had drifted into deep water. “ Here then we were in a pretty plight, an anchor and ninety fathoms of chain-cable hanging to the bows ; the reef not a mile from us, towards which the tide was setting ; the pinnace had only one more day’s provisions ; and the sea was too heavy for her to work outside, and too heavy for us to hoist her in, even if we had daylight : but there was nothing for it but to turn to with a will, and heave the anchor up ; and as every one felt the emergency of the case, there was no stop at the capstan, and in about thirty-eight minutes I had the satisfaction of getting the anchor once more to the bows. By this time we were very close indeed to the reef ; but, the anchor up, all anxiety on that point was at an end, as the sail soon carried the ship clear : but the next consideration was how to provide for the safety of the pinnace during the night, when a happy thought struck me that, though the sea was too heavy outside, yet from the pinnace’s light draught of water she might land on one of the islands, and light a fire which would serve as a beacon, and enable us to keep pretty well on the ground which we had previously surveyed, and knew to be clear.”

The next day, after hoisting the pinnace on board, they stand out to sea, “ very glad to feel the long ocean swell once more, after having been six weeks out of it.”

To his sister my friend writes, August 4th, 1849 :—
“ Those only, who have known the intense anxiety attendant upon a lengthened cruise amongst a mass of shoals and reefs, can at all understand the delight with which I went to sleep when we were fairly clear ; for the nature of the shoals among these islands is such, that the lead gives no warning whatever ; and though, day by day, the look-out from the mast-head may see the shoals, he is of no use at night, and even in the daytime I have taken the ship over shoals, with very little water on them, that looked like deep water from the mast-head, simply from the difference in the colour of the coral of which the shoals are composed ; and it does not add very much to one’s happiness to know that these isolated patches, many not larger than the ship, rise suddenly from deep water, so that, if you hit them hard enough to cause a serious leak, you have every prospect of going down, with some little chance of saving the lives of the crew, but none whatever of saving anything for them to eat.”

I regret that I have not space to make more copious extracts, with which these interesting letters and journals abound. I must, however, give the following, under date, August 16th, 1849 :—

“ One scene I will try to give you a faint idea of, and a very faint one it must be ; for I never saw the like before, and very much doubt if it will ever be my good fortune to see the like again.

“ After leaving the Louisiade and its surrounding reef, which, though it had given the French so much trouble, afforded us smooth water and good anchorage, we approached the coast of New Guinea. For nearly a fortnight, we were prevented by thick, misty, rainy weather, heavy gales, and strong currents, from gaining an anchorage; but one evening, having stood close into the land, to my very great joy I saw the *Bramble* and tender coming out from the mist with the signal flying, ‘Anchorage is good.’ To make all possible sail, and follow her in, was the work of a very few minutes, and, after about three hours of the most intense anxiety, I heard the chain-cable running out. It was then quite dark; so the next morning saw us all anxiously waiting for the sun to rise, to show us the land; but alas! the sun rose clearly enough from the sea, but over the whole of the land hung one dense mass of clouds, through which the space-penetrating power of Lord Rosse’s telescope would have had no effect.”

“ The deep, that like a cradled child
In breathing slumber lay,
More warmly blush’d, more sweetly smiled,
As rose the kindling day :
Through Ocean’s mirror, dark, and clear,
Reflected clouds, and skies appear
In morning’s rich array ;
The land is lost, the waters glow,
’Tis heaven above, around, below ! ”

“ Except the island under the shelter of which we had anchored, nothing whatever could be seen on the land side but masses of heavy clouds above, and volumes

of rolling mist below, while, to make it more tantalizing, to seaward all was clear as possible.

“ About an hour before sunset, a change came over the scene far more magical, far more sudden than anything ever attempted on the stage, when the dark green curtain is drawn up to show the opening scene of some new pantomime. All at once the clouds began to lift, the mist dispersed, and the coast of New Guinea stood before us, clearly defined against the sky, tinged with the rays of the setting sun.

“ The mountains seemed piled one above another to an enormous height, and were of a deeper blue than I have ever seen before even in the Straits of Magellan ; they were intersected by tremendous gorges, and from the foot of the lowest ranges, a considerable tract of low and apparently alluvial soil reached to the beach.

“ To give an idea of this scene by description would be utterly impossible,—the intense blue of the mountains contrasted strangely with masses of white fleecy clouds driven rapidly past them by the gale,—the bright gleams of the setting sun on the nearer hills, covered with most luxuriant vegetation, from which most mysterious little jets of very white smoke from time to time burst out,—and the two surveying ships quite in the foreground, surrounded by native canoes,—completed the picture which we did not enjoy very long ; for in these latitudes, as you well know, there is no twilight, and in less than an hour from the time the clouds began to rise, all was dark ; and though

we saw many of the peaks again, we never had another chance of seeing the whole range so clearly.

“ Mr. Brierly,* the artist who accompanied me from Sydney, made the most of the time ; but no painter can ever give due effect to that sunset.

“ From subsequent observations I find that some of the hills must have been forty-eight miles off, and were at least as high as the peak of Teneriffe.

“ If from so great a distance the effect could be so grand, what must it be amongst those mountains ?”

From the 16th August, to the 1st September, they experienced continued dirty weather, thick and hazy in-shore, blowing hard outside.

On the 1st September the *Bramble* stood out and communicated that, when she was anchored pretty close in-shore, for the purpose of obtaining observations, the wind being very light, the natives had come off in forty canoes containing about 300 men armed with spears, and had surrounded the vessel with every appearance of hostility ; but those in the nearest canoes seeing the sudden muster of the armed crew, and not quite understanding the look of the guns as they were run out, and which most of the natives had *heard speak*, made a retrograde movement which was discreetly followed by the whole force.

* This is the same gentleman to whose pencil I am indebted for the illustrations to this work ; and I avail myself of the opportunity to add that no officer could have on board his ship a more agreeable, accommodating, or intelligent companion, nor, in my judgment, an artist of more decided talents for the varied subjects likely to present themselves.—H. K.

Having completed the survey of that part of the coast to where it had been previously examined by Lieutenant Yule, the *Rattlesnake* returned to Cape York.

On October 6th, 1849, he writes from Evan's Bay, Cape York :—

“ The relief to my mind on arriving here safely after such a cruise must be imagined, not described ; even when all the dangers of an unknown sea had been overcome, we might have found the wells dry and not a drop of water to be procured ; trusting to this our last resource, we *had* carried on till a very few days' supply was left on board ; and during the last month we had been drinking the water caught by the awnings during the heavy rains on the coast of Guinea.

“ What my feelings were on dropping the anchor here in safety I can hardly tell you ; mentally, intense gratitude prevailed ; bodily, intense fatigue, which I had not at all felt before, came on at once, and I must have slept twelve hours without turning round or even dreaming.

“ We have had no sickness of any consequence on board ; not a single accident to either of the vessels or their boats, though the latter have been away in the worst of weather ; and the same degree of harmony exists at this moment as when we left Madeira. I never knew either officers or men work more willingly.”

The expected provision-ship arrived at Cape York the day after the *Rattlesnake*.

On December 3rd, they sailed from Cape York on

their return to Sydney by way of Torres Straits and the Louisiade Archipelago, and arrived at Port Jackson, where we found them on the 7th February.

Early on the morning of the 13th March my poor friend, Owen Stanley, was found dead in his cabin; his end must have been sudden, as he had been called by the officer of the watch not long before. His remains were interred with all the honors due to his rank, in the burial ground of the parish church of St. Leonards on the north side of the river, he having expressed a wish that, in case of his dying in Australia, this should be his final resting place—it is a quiet, pretty, and more secluded spot than the cemetery at Sydney.

The journals of my lamented friend, from which I have quoted, would have proved—had he been spared to publish them himself—an acquisition to their class of literature; and thus, through the medium of libraries and book-clubs, he might already have been more *popularly* known, as no degenerate scion of a gifted stock. But in some cases—and those of the highest order—the *public* can scarcely appreciate the claims of merit. It is happy for SCIENCE that she is her own reward, and that her votaries court her for herself. By his love of science, and by his zeal in the arduous path of scientific duty, Captain Stanley was enabled, with but slight physical or constitutional powers, to throw into the performance of his laborious mission his distinguished father's energy, and patiently, for the benefit of the whole family of man, to track, as it

were, the steps of HIM, "whose way is in the sea, and his path in the great waters, and whose footsteps are not known."

To investigate these, so far as we *are* allowed to do so, is exclusively the privilege of the scientific mind: to define them for the guidance of mankind is the most sublime and philanthropic application, of which genius is susceptible on earth. The nautical surveyor needs no monument, beyond the records of precious lives, noble vessels, rich freights, saved from peril instrumentally by his accuracy,—the commercial facilities emanating from his difficulties,—the quiet confidence amid strange and treacherous waters, which nations derive from his anxieties.

In every *such* monument throughout the commercial world the name of *Owen Stanley* has achieved a place; while the regrets of all who knew him professionally tell of his estimation as an officer; and the sorrow, still fresh in many a mourning heart, attests the void that he has left in private life.

"His spirit hath return'd to HIM
Who gave its heavenly spark;
Yet think not, Sun, it shall be dim,
When thou thyself art dark!
No! it shall live again, and shine
In bliss unknown to beams of thine;
By HIM recalled to breath,
Who captive led captivity,
Who robb'd the grave of Victory,
And took the sting from Death."

CHAPTER XXIV.

MAST DEFECTIVE—PROCEED TO HOBART TOWN—HOME COMPARISONS—KANGAROO HUNTING—SQUATTERS' MODE OF LIFE—PACK OF BEAGLES—HOBART TOWN RACES—TRANSPORTATION QUESTION—SHAM-FIGHT WITH 99TH REGIMENT—DEPARTURE FROM HOBART TOWN—ARRIVE AT SYDNEY—NORFOLK ISLAND—DESCRIPTION—PHILIP AND OTHER ISLANDS—CAVES—TIDES—FISH—SOIL, CLIMATE, AND PRODUCE—POULTRY—BIRDS—BEES—PUBLIC BUILDINGS—RIDE OVER THE ISLAND—GOVERNOR'S COOK—CROSSING THE BAR—BOAT SWAMPED—SUMMARY PROCEEDINGS OF AN EARLY GOVERNOR—CONCLUSION.

DURING our refit at Sydney, on lifting the rigging, we discovered the head of our mizen-mast to be rotten, and as there was a mast of the same dimensions in the *Anson* convict ship at Hobart Town, it having been originally made for the *Southampton* frigate, I applied to the Governor of Van Diemen's Land for permission to appropriate it for the *Mæander*.

We sailed from Port Jackson on the 20th March—It being the time of the recess, a very agreeable party were enabled to accompany us ; among my guests were Captain Fitzroy, A.D.C. with his brother George, private secretary, and master of a pack of fox-hounds ; also Mr. Deas

Thompson, whom my friend Colonel Mundy so justly describes as "the prince of colonial secretaries and of good fellows," and, judging from the directions I received from the Governor as to the care of and attention to be shown him, he was not less appreciated at head quarters.

Pleased as we were with the appearance of everything about Sydney, we were still more so with Hobart Town. To a great superiority in the picturesque it added the advantage of an English climate. As we entered the town it was difficult to imagine ourselves in the antipodes of England: English fruits and vegetables were exposed for sale in the shops, apple and potato-stalls were kept by old women in the streets: the public carriages as well as horses reminded one of the good old coaching days in England.

These convenient means of conveyance induced many of our party to make excursions into the country. The road from Hobart Town to Launceston is little inferior to that from London to Birmingham. The country we passed through, the quickset hedges, farm houses, stacks of corn and hay, the inns by the road-side, at which the coach changed horses or stopped ten minutes to dine, the good roast leg of mutton and potatoes hot and ready, the "coming" waiter, with bad brandy and worse cigars,—all reminded us of home.

We remained some days in the country, and I shall not soon forget the kind hospitality I experienced. It was the winter, and hunting season; and the Governor, Sir William Denison, who is a lover of the sport, kindly

mounted me. Our meet one morning was at Oatlands, the residence of the master of the hounds, prettily situated on the banks of the Macquarrie River; there was a *déjeuner* for a large party; and no young ladies, with all the advantages of English society and English education, could have presided at the table with more natural grace than did the pretty sisters of our worthy host, assisted by an equally pretty friend, none of whom had ever been out of the colony. In the field too these young ladies were equally conspicuous for their nerve and graceful riding.

Our game was the kangaroo; the pack were fox-hounds. If awkward fences and dangerous jumping add to the excitement of the chase, the sport could not be surpassed in merry England, nor could the well-mounted cheery set of young fellows who composed the field be outdone in deeds of gallant riding by any in the world. The sea-captain's performances on the Governor's mare, which had always been accustomed to a good place in the run, afforded, I flatter myself, amusement to my entertainers for some days after.

There were, besides, in the neighbourhood, a first-rate pack of beagles. Just before we sailed from Hobart Town I received a letter, which I much prize, from Mr. William Allison, one of the young men with whom I had crossed the country, and with whom I had established a friendship. He was the son of a "*squatter*," who had been an officer in the navy, and was one of the finest specimens I ever saw of an old mariner; he had served his country throughout the

eventful period of the late war. The perusal of the son's letter could not fail to give the reader a very favourable impression of the style of man one may meet in that distant land ; he had the management of 40,000 acres, with a flock of some 20,000 sheep, and was deeply interested in the welfare of the colony. I refrain from publishing it without leave ; on the subject of the sport, in which he knew I should be interested, he says, "We had the most glorious run on Saturday I ever saw, or perhaps ever shall see again, with Nat's* beagles : after a run of twelve miles, the kangaroo, a forester, jumped dead ten yards in front of the hounds ; we had no check, and during the last four miles we frequently viewed him, there were only Nat, myself, a younger brother, and a Mr. Difrose in at the death ; had you been with us, as we often wished, you would have been there too. Mrs. Lord sent you the kangaroo, which we hope reached safely."

The Hobart Town Races came off during our stay, and afforded good sport ; there was a Governor's Cup to be run for. On the ground there were more rogues, and a more experienced set of thimble-rig gentry than are to be found on a well conducted race-course in England, which does not afford the same market as formerly to the lower classes of sharpers and gamblers ; nor indeed to the idler, unconnected with the turf, has it half the amusement of this colonial race-course.

* A younger brother of the writer.

The question of the importation of convicts, which is now likely to be merged in the all-absorbing gold diggings, appeared to interest three distinct parties. The most powerful was that of the lower orders, inhabiting the capital, whose object it was, by excluding the convict, to keep up high wages. In three days they earn sufficient, where provisions are so cheap, to keep them for the remainder of the week ; this gives them ample leisure to attend to politics. This party, as in other countries, found advocates among respectable senators, and were powerful at the seat of Government.

A second party, consisting of the clergy generally and a few other respectable individuals, objected to the immoral tendency which the introduction of convicted felons must have.

The third party, the real colonists, the cultivators of the soil, on whose stability and welfare the colony mainly depended, saw nothing but ruin in the proposed sudden change ; they were earnest in their protestations, and denied the extent of the immoral effect caused by the introduction of felons. Gang-labour may be bad ; but I believe, with very few exceptions, the convict labourer employed in the country is better behaved than the free settler. The owners of land have more means of improving, and more command over, a man who has something to gain by good conduct and everything to lose if he does not behave well, than he can possibly

have over the free man, who can come and go just as it suits his convenience.

On the 18th April the 99th regiment and ourselves amused the inhabitants of Hobart Town by a sham-fight: the soldiers were to occupy some Government ground called "The Paddocks," and oppose an invasion.

As soon as the 99th had taken up their position in a wood to the rear, the invading force effected a landing, and were driving in the enemy's pickets, when they were suddenly out-numbered and obliged to retire on their boats, making a gallant stand at the end, to cover the re-embarkation of their artillery. Much ammunition was expended. So large a concourse of people had never before been seen in Hobart Town.

Before taking our departure, I had the gratification of receiving Sir Willian Denison on board, and giving him a few hours' cruise in the Derwent River,—a recreation he appeared particularly partial to. Such were the attractions of Hobart Town, that we had some difficulty in collecting our Sydney friends; but as I was under a promise to Sir Charles Fitzroy to return them safe by a certain date, we could no longer delay our departure, and we consequently sailed on the 20th April: with no small regret we finally parted with them at Sydney on the 26th.

The *Havannah*, Captain Erskine, in charge of the Australian station, had arrived a few hours before us from a visit to the Enderby Islands.

On the 3rd May, we quitted Port Jackson in con-

tinuation of our route for Port Nicholson and Auckland ; but, the wind heading us off, we stood on to Norfolk Island, which we made on the evening of the 7th, and stood off and on for the night. Early the following morning the Governor, Mr. Price, kindly sent a whale-boat off, as it was not advisable to attempt landing in our own boats, owing to the surf which appears to break on every part of the coast. A short pier forms a sort of break-water ; and a skilful helmsman, as he rushes in with the last roller, will turn the boat so as to shoot into smooth water, where a tolerable landing, under the lee of the pier, may be effected. An unskilful helmsman generally manages to have his boat landed on the rocks, where, the moment she strikes, there are plenty of convicts ready to rescue the passengers, some of them without even a wetting : this was my case ; but fatal accidents do occasionally happen.

The group of islands of which this is the principal, lies in $168^{\circ} 1'$ east longitude, and $29^{\circ} 2'$ south latitude. It was discovered by Captain Cook in 1774, and consists of two considerable islets, Norfolk and Philip, distant about six miles from each other, with about a dozen others,—Nepean and the Bird Islands,—which are little more than dry rocks distributed about the main islands.

Norfolk Island is not quite five miles long, with a medium breadth of about two and a half ; and its superficies is about 8960 acres, and greatest height, at two points close together, forming the double summit of Mount Pitt, 1050 feet. These numbers are the result of a rough

survey, with very defective instruments, and may be somewhat below the mark.

Philip Island is about a mile and a quarter long, with a medium breadth, not exceeding three quarters of a mile ; its height probably from 800 to 900 feet. It is almost everywhere precipitous, its sides being furrowed with deep channels or gullies ; it is densely wooded, though the timber is small, and of little value ; it does not appear capable of occupation to economical advantage. As a punishment station, however, or as an invalid station, where the infirm could be kept apart altogether from the able and effective men,—for even in sickness they are here frequently ill-conducted—it might be occupied with considerable benefit to discipline.

Garden-ground could be easily procured and made available ; but means must be taken to exclude the rabbits, with which the island abounds, but which, owing to the present state of the brushwood and the shelter of the gullies, are enabled to evade the keenest sportsman.

Water has been found at one known spot, and probably could be procured elsewhere.

Government House, which is spacious and comfortable, stands on a small hill, which rises somewhat abruptly about fifty feet above the adjoining level.

Nepean Island, about 400 yards from the beach, rises to the height of about fifty feet. It is about a quarter of a mile or less in length, of a horse-shoe form, open to the

east ; water has not been found on it, and vegetation has within the last few years disappeared, owing, it is said, to the number of rabbits, which, having destroyed everything edible, perished themselves. Birds only are now found on it—chiefly gannets and mutton birds.

The Bird Islands distributed along the north shore exactly resemble the cliffs opposite to them,—they are utterly useless, and are tenanted extensively by birds, particularly the gannet, boatswain, and sea-swallow, the two latter of which are rarely seen on the other side of the island.

The tides run with great rapidity among these Bird Islands ; and thus, though the distance be but a few yards, it is difficult to swim off to them. Both they and the cliffs opposite to them are extensively hollowed into caves and recesses by the action of the water, and in some cases also by human agency. The porphyry is easily formed into a cave, and almost all the men who abscond form some such retreat, where it is sometimes very difficult to find them. Some of the mutineers who, in 1827, seized the boats and escaped to Philip Island, thus lived thirteen months before they were retaken, and many stories are current of the extent of cave found under its principal peak. There is, however, a cave of considerable extent on the south-west side of Norfolk Island, which has been hollowed out by the action of the water. The entrance forms a Gothic arch ; the columns are regular, and appear as if they had been cut by human agency, and not formed by the Great

Architect of Nature. The roof is lofty, broken and irregular ; and at the extreme end of it a large block of porphyry stands in the centre, which we might almost fancy to be the presiding genius of the place, the base of which is covered with a carpet of sea-weed.

The tides run so rapidly that with a light wind it is difficult for a ship to keep her station ;—and there is frequently much delay in clearing her ; the anchorage, as I mentioned before, is not considered safe.

The flood-tide sets to the west—the rise of tide about six feet, and time of high water at full and change, 7h. 45m. The general tides are regular, and commonly speaking will carry a ship clear of danger, not into it. The only exceptions are the Bumbora rocks at the south-west extremity, and a low point almost corresponding to them, projecting from the south-west point of Nepean ; on both these the tides set almost directly, and as they are respectively at the east and west extremities of the bay in which the settlement is placed, and not more than three miles and a half apart, they add much to its other inconveniences.

Soundings in deep water may be obtained on most sides of the island—on these there is tolerably good fishing.—Sharks are common, but small, not exceeding five feet ; they have never been known to molest a man, but when a large fish is hooked, they not unfrequently help themselves to half of it, before you can haul it to the

surface. Among the fish taken are two species of cod, one black, rising to 200lbs., and one brown, of about 17lbs. The shoal-fish are—king-fish, trevaley, salmon, groper, skipjack, and trumpeters ; small guard-fish are frequently driven within the reefs by their numerous enemies. The king-fish seems to be the master ; wherever he appears the others give way. All these fish are palatable though dry. They are clean in the autumn and winter, but dry in the spring. About October their fry are seen floating about in abundance ; and when they are caught at this time, the different kinds have almost always the fry of some other kinds in their stomachs, but never their own. They all take salt well. An accessible boat-harbour might be formed ; and if you could persuade the volunteer fishermen not to run away, a valuable fishery might be established on the island, and might contribute materially to its economical resources.

The soil and climate of Norfolk Island are more adapted to the growth of maize than wheat ; the latter is a most uncertain crop. Rust and smut are the prevailing and fatal diseases ; and when any part becomes affected, the fungi speedily spread to the adjoining crops, and their destructive properties are too speedily developed. Barley, oats, and rye, have been cultivated with tolerable success.

The soil and climate of Norfolk Island are also adapted to the cultivation of cotton, perhaps more so than any other : the produce of two rods planted by Captain

Machonochie on the west side of his garden was immense, and of superior texture. Tobacco and arrowroot have also been grown with considerable advantage. A partial attempt has been made to improve some of the pastures by sowing clover, rye, and other grasses; but, from either the bad quality of the seed or the drought, little germinated. Guinea is the most valuable indigenous grass, and grows luxuriantly: it is eagerly sought for by horses, horned cattle, and swine, but sheep prefer the other kinds, and only feed on the young shoots. Lucerne has been introduced and thrives well, but it is said not to seed. (For the woods, shrubs, and vegetables, see Appendix.)

Every description of domestic poultry thrives well, and fowl is of good quality; the common pigeon is abundant, and when young, good eating. The white guineafowl was once abundant but is now extinct; the grey are getting more common. A fine wood-quest is still to be found about Mount Pitt, and attempts have been made to domesticate it, but without success. There are some however in the aviary of the Government House at Hobart Town.

There are three varieties of parrots,—a blue and red lowrie (*Psittacus Penantis*), a green parrot, and a mule. A fourth is said to exist on Philip Island of surpassing beauty, but has not been caught for the last few years. Kingfishers are common, but their plumage is dingy. There is a variety of the blackbird; of the robin, too, with a scarlet

breast and white head ; guava birds, white-eyes, fantails, &c. all popularly so named. None have much note, though they are not altogether silent. A hive of bees was introduced by Captain Maconochie in 1840 ; they have thriven well, and besides being in most of the officers' gardens are now also wild in the bush. The quality of the honey is excellent. There are neither snakes, lizards, nor centipedes on Norfolk Island, though the two latter are found on Philip Island.

The military barracks are capable of containing a regiment. The Commissariat store is lofty and roomy. The convict barracks are three stories high, they will contain about 1100 men. The prisoners sleep in hammocks in two tiers, suspended to wooden frames, upwards of 115 are contained in some of the wards ; each prisoner is allowed one blanket, which, with the hammock, forms his whole bedding.

The thermometer seldom descends below 65 deg.

The jail is a small quadrangular building, not calculated in any way to meet the wants of the settlement ; a new one is in progress.

The convict hospital is small.

In the prisoners' barracks are a Protestant and a Catholic chapel—there are shoemakers' and tailors' shops also within the barrack walls.

The convicts attached to the agricultural establishment are employed principally in the cultivation of maize, and the labour is formed almost exclusively with the hoe.

Artificers of every description are to be found among the prisoners, and all have their allotted work. Their daily ration consists of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. maize meal, 1 lb. salt beef, 1 oz. of sugar, and $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. soap. The expense of the settlement is about £30,000 per annum. In 1787 the island was colonised by free settlers and prisoners from New South Wales, under Captain King, R. N. In 1809 an unsuccessful attempt was made by the free settlers, military, and prisoners, to take possession of the island. In the following year this sink of iniquity was abandoned, and every building demolished.

On the 4th June, 1825, it was re-occupied as a penal settlement, by Captain Turton, six civilians, fifty soldiers, and fifty prisoners.

The Governor kindly took me a ride over the island. It is difficult to imagine a more beautiful or lovely spot. At every hundred yards a fresh scene broke on us. Our road to Mount Pitt, upwards of 1000 feet above the level of the sea, lay through groves of orange and lemon-trees. It required only a suitable population to make it a little paradise ; but at present the recurrence of one's thoughts to the desperate men who inhabit the soil constantly dispels any agreeable illusion. The present Governor has, by a conciliatory but firm system, greatly alleviated the horrors and suffering of the prisoners, many of whom are thrice-convicted felons. During our ride we passed several groups of these desperate men, but their hats were immediately doffed,

and they seemed to respect, while they stood in awe of, the all-powerful Governor.

At Government House we were hospitably entertained at an early dinner, to enable us to cross the bar and get on board before sunset. At dinner I could not help remarking what a superior artist the Governor had in the way of a cook ; he was a doubly-convicted murderer, and had once been reprieved when the rope was round his neck : he boasted of having had a shot, while in the bush of Australia, at my much-respected friend, Mr. Deas Thompson, the Colonial Secretary.

In going on board we were not so fortunate in crossing the bar,—the boat, which was too deeply laden, got swamped. Owing, however, to arrangements ashore and the activity of the convicts, no lives were lost.

On my asking the man who had rescued me from a watery grave, to whom I was indebted for the kind assistance, he informed me that his name was Emerson, and that he had been transported for doing a bit of highway robbery while in the service of *my father* !

Our second attempt to get off was more successful, owing to our having divided ourselves into two parties, and thereby lightening the boat. Our great loss was in a couple of hundred young Norfolk Island pine-trees, some of which I did hope to bring to this country, but they never recovered the salt-water soaking.

That Governors of Norfolk Island have sometimes found

it necessary to take strong measures will appear from the following well-known occurrence :—

In October, 1827, a man named Clynch, who had been some time an absentee, attacked Captain Wright, the then Governor, with an iron boar-spear, when on his way from Longridge to the settlement. The commandant, being an active man, parried the thrust with his stick, and reached the settlement with only a slight flesh wound. The military were sent in pursuit of the offender, but without success. On the following day Clynch robbed a free overseer of his watch, in the presence of his gang, not one of whom attempted to prevent him, although requested to do so by the overseer. On the 28th, Clynch was detected in attempting to break into the hospital, for the alleged purpose of murdering an informer who was an inmate of that place ; being closely pursued, he was captured on the flat opposite the military barracks. A few minutes after his apprehension, and after he had been handcuffed, a sergeant walked up to him, put a pistol to his head, and blew his brains out, in pursuance of an order to that effect issued by the Governor immediately after the attack on himself, thereby forestalling the more ignominious death that awaited him.

Captain Wright was removed in consequence of this outrage. Although such an instance of summary punishment inflicted by order of a Governor is without a parallel, still there are many as great villains as Clynch constantly to be found among the felons on Norfolk Island.

I have already stretched my "Indian Archipelago" beyond its legitimate bounds. I will therefore take leave of my readers, and proceed without them on our still interesting, although more frequented course.—Passing through Cook's Straits, we visited Port Nicholson, and subsequently Port Auckland, as well as the Bay of Islands in New Zealand, an interesting account of which places has lately been published, by Colonel Mundy. After visiting Tonga-Tabou, one of the Friendly Islands,—descriptive notices of which are now in the press, from the pens of two different authors,—we entered the Great Pacific Ocean, calling at Tahiti on our way to Valparaiso.

After a twelvemonth passed on that agreeable station, we returned to England through the Straits of Magelhaens, arriving at Spithead towards the end of July, 1851, in time to see the Grand Exhibition in the Crystal Palace.

I have never met with a full description of a very curious insect, or plant,—"*The Bulrush Caterpillar*;" and as anything belonging to natural history is interesting to all classes, I will here subjoin a few remarks on that curiosity, which I obtained, with several specimens, from the Rev. R. Taylor, of Warinote, a close and enthusiastic observer of all that is to be found rare and curious in nature, in the fields and bush of New Zealand.

"This singular plant, of which the native name is

Aweto Aolete, may be classed among the most remarkable productions of the vegetable kingdom. There are birds which dispossess others of their nests, and marine animals which take up their abode in deserted shells ; but this plant surpasses all in killing and taking possession ; making the body of an insect—and that too very probably a living one—the foundation from which it rears its stem, and the source from which it derives its support. It certainly forms one of the most surprising links between the animal and vegetable kingdoms yet noticed ; and, as such, merits as circumstantial a description as our present imperfect acquaintance with it will allow.

“The *Aweto* is only found at the root of one particular tree—the *Nata*—the female *Pohutukana*. The root of the plant, which in every instance exactly fills the body of the caterpillar, in the finest specimens attains a length of three inches and a half ; and the stem, which germinates from this metamorphosed body of the caterpillar, is from six to ten inches high ; its apex, when in a state of fructification, resembles the club-headed bulrush in miniature, and, when examined with a powerful glass, presents the appearance of an onion. There are no leaves : a solitary stem comprises the entire plant ;—but if any accident break it off, a second stem rises from the same spot. The body is not only always found buried, but the greater portion of the stalk as well, the seed-vessel alone being above ground : when the plant has attained its maturity, it soon dies away. These curious plants are

far from uncommon : I have examined at least a hundred. The natives eat them when fresh, and likewise use them—when burnt—as colouring matter for their tattooing, rubbing the powder into their wounds, in which state it has a strong animal smell. When newly dug up, the substance of the caterpillar is soft ; and, when divided longitudinally, the intestinal canal is distinctly visible. Most specimens possess the legs entire, with the living part of the head, the mandibles and claws. The vegetating process invariably proceeds from the nape of the neck ; from which it may be inferred that the insect, in crawling to the place where it inhumes itself prior to its metamorphosis, whilst burrowing in the light vegetable soil, gets some of the minute seeds of this fungus between the scales of its neck, from which, in its sickening state, it is unable to free itself ; and which consequently—being nourished by the warmth of the insect's body, then lying in a motionless state—vegetate, and not only impede the progress of change in the chrysalis, but likewise occasion the death of the insect. That the vegetating process commences during the lifetime of the insect appears certain, from the fact that the caterpillar, when converted into a plant, always preserves its perfect form. In no one instance has decomposition appeared to commence, or the skin to have contracted or expanded beyond its natural size.

“A plant of a similar kind has been discovered growing in abundance on the banks of the *Murrumbidgee*, New

South Wales, in a rich black alluvial soil. Both are cryptogamous plants.

“It is a curious instance of a retrograde step in nature, when the insect, instead of rising to the higher order of the butterfly, and soaring to the skies, sinks into a plant, and remains attached to the soil in which it buried itself.”

APPENDIX.

I.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS READ OR REFERRED TO BY MR. HUME
IN PARLIAMENT—ADDRESS FROM THE MERCHANTS OF SINCA-
PORE TO SIR JAMES BROOKE—LETTER FROM MR. VIGORS TO
SIR JAMES BROOKE.

1.

MR. HUME “having understood that one of the officers of the East India Company’s service had commanded on the coast of Borneo, he applied to that gentleman for information, and received from him the following reply :—

“ ‘ Dec. 8, 1850.

“ ‘ I have just received your note, and I am sorry that I am not in town to call upon Mr. Hume. When I first heard of Sir James Brooke’s expedition, I was led to suppose that the Dyaks in question were noted and desperate pirates, but I subsequently learnt that they were merely enemies of the Sarāwak tribe, and had been so for many generations, in fact, from time immemorial. During the sixteen months that I was stationed on the coast of Borneo I never heard of or saw a pirate, which greatly disappointed me, as I was led to suppose that the coast abounded with them. From information that I received from one of the principal merchants

of Singapore, I learnt that small coasting vessels under the English flag had been in the habit of trading to and from Bruni for the last twenty-five years, and that they had never been molested; so I have come to the conclusion that the enemies of the Sarāwak tribe are not pirates or enemies of this great and happy land, and I cannot help telling you that from all I have heard I am thankful that the ship I commanded was not engaged in the late affair.' ”

2.

“Captain Daniell, writing from Plymouth, December 9, 1850, said,—

“‘I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, and in reply I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I was in command of the Honourable Company’s steam-frigate *Semiramis*, stationed on the coast of Borneo, from March, 1849, to May, 1850, during which time I never fell in with a pirate. As regards Sir James Brooke’s expedition against the Dyaks in question, I beg to state that I never heard of their having molested an English or foreign vessel.’ ”

3.

“He (Mr. Hume) had also a letter from an officer on board a steam-frigate in the following terms:—

“ ‘October 28, 1850.

“‘I opine that no person has any business to voluntarily enter a witness-box, unless he has some positive evidence to give on the occasion in question. Now, the question is, what have I to say regarding the massacre of Malay pirates (so called) in 1849,—simply that I was stationed at Labuan for the protection of the island from ——— to ——— in the ———; that I made three subsequent trips, and remained a few days each time; and that I paid a flying

visit to Sarāwak in the same vessel. In all these trips I never fell in with any pirates, nor did anything I heard there lead me to infer that the Malays in that neighbourhood were given to piracy, in the sense generally taken of that term by Englishmen. What I inferred was, that the different tribes were given to war upon each other, as their more civilised brethren in other parts of the world are. No person that had seen their prahus could have any great dread of them as sea pirates; indeed, so little are they dreaded, that vessels so small as forty-five tons, with crews of eight or ten men, and they Malays, with a single European to navigate, run constantly between Singapore and Borneo Proper without any dread of them. Being obliged to leave Labuan from ill-health, and no other opportunity offering at the time, I went to Singapore from that place in a schooner of forty-five tons, with a crew of four Malays, one maalam or navigator, and an Indian Lascar or tindal, accompanied by Lieutenant Rideout, of the 21st Madras Native Infantry, and our servants, our only arms a double-barrelled fowling-piece, and that in its case in the hold. It is true this latter was in what is called the bad season, when their prahus do not venture out, but the trading vessels before alluded to run constantly throughout the year.’”

4.

“He (Mr. Hume) had letters from Captain Young and Captain Daniell, of the Indian navy. The former officer said, under date of Bombay, January 17, 1851,—

“‘ You wish me to give an opinion on the affair with the Dyaks on the night of the 31st of July, 1849, apparently under the impression that I was present on that occasion. I had, however, returned to India some six months previously. I was on the coast of Borneo in command of the Honourable Company’s steam-frigate

Auckland from March to December, 1848, and during that time I once visited Sarāwak. I do not feel myself justified in giving an opinion on the affair in question, being doubtful how far that would be consistent with my duty as a Government servant. I am, however, perfectly willing, if called on officially, to give any information in my power.' ”

5.

“ He (Mr. Hume) would now read to the House a communication he had received from a gentleman who had been for twenty-eight years a resident at Sincapore, and who knew that he was anxious to get information on this subject. His correspondent said,—

“ ‘ Having read your suggestions from the *Daily News* of 22nd March respecting Borneo, and the supposed piratical expedition of July, 1849, under the command of Captain Farquhar, I have been induced to offer the following remarks on the Malays from Pontiana to Maludu Bay. I lived in Sincapore seven years, and at Labuan two and a half years. I was the first adventurer to that island after it was taken possession of by the British Government ; and I worked the coal mine under contract for the Admiralty from April 1847, to July, 1849, when the Eastern Archipelago Company took possession of the said mine. During the first fifteen months of that period I was the only inhabitant except the Malays on the island, with not even the corporal’s guard to protect me. While working the coal mine I often had occasion to leave my wife and children at Victoria Bay, about ten miles distant, for fourteen and twenty days together, when my presence was required at the mine, and on one occasion sixty days ; showing that if, at that early period, the Malays had wished to commit any acts of dishonesty, they could have done so with impunity on my stores during my absence from home ; yet we never experienced other than the greatest respect

from the Malays. I have no hesitation in saying I would as soon venture on a trading voyage on the coast of Borneo as that of England, or any other coast. While speaking of Malays I must not omit to mention the case of a young man named Burns, who left Labuan in a native prahu to visit the Bintulu River in search of antimony ore, with none but Malays accompanying him. He stayed there some three or four months, and was supplied with every necessary by the Malays. The Bintulu River is about half-way from Sarāwak to Labuan. When, however, Governor Brooke was informed of Mr. Burns being at the Bintulu River, he despatched the Honourable Company's steamer *Phlegethon* to fetch him away and land him at Labuan, which was done. Mr. Burns lived there with me, and spoke in the highest terms of the Malays during his stay among them at the Bintulu River. There can be only one opinion about the late massacre of the Malays formed by anybody acquainted with Sir James Brooke or Sarāwak—that it was to murder them into subjection of the Sarāwak Government. That Sir James Brooke is very much opposed to any European adventurers being on the coast of Borneo has been shown in the case of Burns and others. Neither are Europeans allowed to visit or reside at Sarāwak. This expedition was long talked of at Labuan; but I never heard it said to be undertaken on account of piracies; the alleged reason being that some Malays had made an attack on Sarāwak and taken some heads, which is a common mode of warfare among the Malays. I never heard it was for acts of piracy, neither that any parties had suffered as such; neither do I, or any other parties having a practical knowledge of the proceedings, believe one iota of it.' ”

“ That letter he received from Mr. William Henry Miles.”

6.

“ He (Mr. Hume) would also beg the attention of the House to the following passage from a document signed in 1851, by fifty-three merchants of Sincapore :—

“ ‘ We beg to testify our cordial approval of your valuable and persevering exertions as a member of the Imperial Legislature, to call the attention of Parliament, and of the British public, to the measures which have been pursued against the communities of the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks, inhabiting territories on the coast of Borneo adjacent to Sarāwak, and to discriminate between the usages and situation of these tribes and the piracies of the formidable marauders of the Archipelago, who have so long been known under the names of Illanuns or Lanuns, Soloos, and Balaninis. It is a fact perfectly notorious in this settlement, that until within these few years the alleged piracies of the Dyaks had never been heard of, and that the first circumstance which in any particular manner drew public attention in the Straits to the existence of the Serebas and Sakarrans, as hordes of pirates, was the invasion of their countries by Captain the Hon. H. Keppel, in Her Majesty’s ship *Dido*—a measure which was at the time commented on by many here as unjustifiable. There is not one among us who ever heard the captain of a merchant vessel, or the nakoda of a trading prahu, mention their having seen a Dyak pirate; and the circumstance of either the one or the other of them having fallen in with or been attacked by prahus which were propelled by paddles, and had neither masts nor sails, would have been a novelty which could not have failed to attract attention, to say nothing of the want of firearms; and you will observe that, according to the deposition (printed in the Parliamentary papers regarding Borneo piracy) of Siup, a Sadong Malay, a prisoner taken from the Serebas on the 31st of July, 1849, ‘there were not more than four small

brass guns' in the whole fleet, although it could not have numbered less than 3000 or 3500 men; while it is a notorious fact that the same number of guns often forms the armament of a single Malay, Bugis, or other trading prahu of the Archipelago. It is, of course, morally impossible for us to aver that the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks never have committed what we understand to be piracy, but the current testimony of every account which we are aware of being before the public regarding the Dyak races must be wholly rejected, if every case of an attack by the Serebas and Sakarrans against a neighbouring territory, whether inhabited by Malays or Dyaks, is to be considered an act of piracy. Such, however, appears to have been the principle acted on in regard to them from first to last, as the history of every invasion, and every attack of which they have been the object, will abundantly prove. It appears to us that the most that can be said for those who advocate their slaughter as pirates is, that the actual character of these tribes is matter of doubt. In the face of the tremendous carnage of the 31st of July, we will not here undertake to say that they were not pirates; but we confidently affirm our opinion that the evidence of their being pirates is the very opposite of being satisfactory. We conclude these observations with the expression of an earnest hope that Parliament will see fit to accede to your motion for inquiry, without which there can be no issue of this question satisfactory to the public mind.' "

7.

" He (Mr. Hume) had in his possession a letter written by the Hon. Captain Hastings, to whom he had addressed some inquiries, dated February 14, 1851, in which that gallant officer said:—

" ' I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., transmitting the enclosed letter for my perusal,

and acquainting me that it is your intention to bring before the House of Commons the conduct of Sir James Brooke on the 31st of July, 1849, and, as my conduct has been reflected upon in several public letters and documents, you trust that I will not object to state the circumstances that induced me to refuse compliance with Sir James Brooke's request on the occasion referred to in the enclosed. In reply, I have the honour to state that the reasons which induced me to refuse compliance on the occasion in question having been brought at the time under the notice of my superiors, and by them approved of, I am precluded from offering you any statement of the matter.' ”

8.

ADDRESS FROM THE MERCHANTS OF SINGAPORE TO
SIR JAMES BROOKE

“ SIR,

“ *November 3, 1849.*

“ We, the undersigned residents in Singapore, have observed with deep regret the attacks recently made on you, through a certain portion of the public press here and in England,—not merely against yourself personally, but against your public measures for the suppression of piracy; and as it is evident that these have originated in Singapore, and, from absence of contradiction, have gained partial currency in England, we feel it due to ourselves, as connected with this settlement, thus publicly to disclaim all participation in such statements, which, as well as the spirit of personal hostility which they indicate, we unequivocally condemn.

“ We beg to express our opinion of the inevitable necessity which exists for the suppression of piracy on the coast of Borneo, and our approval of the measures which you have adopted to effect this. It is our conviction that it is the bounden duty of our Government, on principle, as well as policy,—by considerations of humanity, as well

as by the obligations imposed on us by the Treaty of 1824 with the Netherlands,—to extirpate piracy in the Archipelago wherever it is found; and thereby secure to the peaceful and industrious protection against the ruthless attacks of these savage hordes, whose formidable expeditions it has been proved beyond question are not those merely of tribes against tribes, but are the systematic combinations of organised and professed pirates, seeking only the destruction of life and property, from mere thirst of blood and rapine. We may regret the necessity which, in the performance of this duty, is imposed on you of exacting severe punishment, but we are satisfied it is inevitable; and that while the duty must be fulfilled, at whatever cost or sacrifice of life, your well-earned reputation for humanity and mildness of rule offers the best guarantee that in all your proceedings justice will be tempered by mercy,—a course of policy which we firmly believe has never been, and never will be departed from by you. We beg to offer our hearty congratulations to you on the great success which has hitherto followed your vigorous measures; and we trust that, in carrying out your enlightened views, you will not permit yourself to be influenced by hostile comments, founded on misapprehension,—from whatever quarter they may emanate. Our experience, acquired during a residence of many years in the Archipelago, forces on us the conviction that neither commerce nor civilisation can be extended while piracy in its present formidable extent exists.

“ Entertaining these sentiments, it was with much satisfaction we hailed your return to Borneo, invested with political functions; one of the first fruits of which has been an advantageous Commercial Treaty with Soloo; and we look forward with confidence to your future career being characterised by the same determination to uphold and extend British influence in the Archipelago by friendly intercourse with peaceful native states, not less than by resistance,

where occasion calls for it, against encroachments on the national rights of Great Britain by other powers.

“ We have,” &c. (Signed by twenty-two persons, including the representatives of all the mercantile firms—with the exception of three—established in Sincapore; it was not extended to the respectable class of natives.)

The following names will speak for themselves, with those who are acquainted with that settlement:—

JNO. PURVIS.	THO. H. CAMPBELL.
ED. BOUSTEAD.	ROBERT BAIN.
C. CANIN.	M. F. DAVIDSON.
G. W. G. NICOL.	CH. H. HARRISON.
JOAQUI D'ALMEIDA.	A. DGEM.
D'ALMEIDA, JUNR.	JOYE D'ALMEIDA.
AUGUST BEHN.	K. LOGAN.
WM. SCOTT.	W. R. GEORGE.
WILLIAM KER.	JNO. HARVEY.
J. ARMSTRONG.	C. MOSES.
H. LITTLE.	WALLER SCLOUDUNCA.

9.

Much importance having been attached by Mr. Hume to a description of Captain Farquhar's action from the pen of Mr. Vigors, published in the *Illustrated London News*, and to that gentleman's supposed opinion thereon, I here subjoin a letter from Mr. Vigors to Sir James Brooke, with which it did not seem advisable to cumber the text. It completes the failure of Mr. Hume's own authorities.

“ PERTH, WESTERN AUSTRALIA,

“ MY DEAR SIR JAMES,

June 10th, 1851.

“ I gather from your letter that my communication on the subject of the expedition against the pirates, which appeared in the *Illustrated London News* of the 10th November, 1849, has been

tortured so as to represent me either as expressing or entertaining a doubt, whether the people who were attacked by the force under Captain Farquhar's command were really pirates. I am altogether at a loss to conceive how any one could make such an attempt; surely my language on that point is clear and explicit enough to satisfy any unprejudiced person: but, however that may have been, I now state in the most unhesitating manner that I never entertained, nor wished others from my letter to infer, a doubt upon the subject. I always was, and still am, quite satisfied they were pirates: indeed, I was present when one of those who had escaped from the action, but who was subsequently taken prisoner, was examined by Mr. Wallage, the commander of the *Nemesis*, through an interpreter; and he, after having been well fed, and assured of his safety, stated that the balla, or fleet, which had been destroyed, had started for piratical purposes; he also confessed that they had, while on the expeditions, attacked the village of Maton and taken a trading prahu, as I stated in my published account of the affair. He also stated that he lived by piracy, attending his chiefs on grand ballas, and filling up the intervals of time by a little private piracy on his own account.

“No man can entertain a greater horror of unnecessary bloodshed than I do; and yet I do not for one moment hesitate to express my most unqualified approbation of all that was done in that expedition; the lesson was a severe one, but I am fully satisfied that it was necessary. I confess my inexperience, but yet I have acquired some knowledge of what was the state of the northern coast of Borneo, before Sarāwak was so fortunate as to possess its present ruler; and I cannot adequately express my admiration at the great and salutary change which has been wrought in the habits and manners of all the inhabitants of that coast, over whom your rule and influence have extended, which amelioration is to be attributed solely to the

judicious and admirable system pursued by you. In conclusion, Sir, I trust I may be permitted to offer my humble tribute of respect and esteem for, and admiration of, yourself personally, and also of your most praiseworthy and pre-eminently successful exertions in the cause of civilisation; and to express a sincere hope that your valuable life, on the preservation of which the advancement of civilisation in Borneo mainly depends, may be long spared; and that future generations of Dyaks, enjoying all the blessings of Christianity, civilisation, and good government, through your instrumentality, may bear perpetual testimony to the deep debt of gratitude which Borneo owes to you.—I am,

“ My dear Sir James,

“ With the deepest respect,

“ Yours very faithfully,

(Signed) “ B. URBAN VIGORS.

“ TO RAJAH SIR JAMES BROOKE, &c. &c. &c.”

II.

LEGAL PROOFS OF THE PIRATICAL CHARACTER OF THE SREBAS, ETC.

*Being Extracts from Depositions taken under a Commission from the Court of
Judicature, Singapore, in September, 1849.*

DEPOSITION No. 1.

“SRUP, a Sadong Malay, residing lately at Serebas, maketh oath and saith, that he was out with the pirate-fleet which was attacked by the force under Commander Farquhar, and that there were thirty

men in the same prahu with himself, which prahu was run down by a steamer ;—deponent escaped into the jungle and was made prisoner the next day.

“The fleet consisted of one hundred and fifty prahus; the Datu Patingi of Serebas was the head of the balla or fleet. The Datu Bandar, Steer Wangsa, Panglima Rajah, Abong Dundang, and almost all the principal Malays of Serebas were also out in the fleet. Deponent further saith, that thirty of the prahus were from Rembas, twenty-five from Paku, and the rest from Padi and Liar (all these places are in the Serebas River); many of the Sakarran people were in the prahus mixed with the Serebas people. The Orang Kaya Pamancha and most of the other Dyak chiefs, and nearly all the grown-up persons, were likewise in the fleet. As to the number of men out on this excursion, deponent cannot exactly state, but he saith that very few prahus indeed had less than thirty men—many carried forty and fifty men, and some had a crew of seventy men. Deponent further saith, that there were not more than four small brass guns in the fleet, but that each prahu carried a few muskets and quantities of spears, swords, and shields.

“Deponent further saith, that this fleet on leaving the Serebas River proceeded to the entrance of the Niabur River and remained there one night :—from the Niabur the fleet proceeded to the entrance of the Palo where it stopped the second night. They were within sight of the houses of Palo but did not attack the place. From the Palo the fleet proceeded to the bay of Lassa, and on its way there captured and plundered a trading prahu laden with sago—deponent saw the capture made himself. From the bay of Lassa the fleet proceeded to the attack of the town of Mato, and near that town the fleet captured two other trading prahus, one was laden with sago, the other nearly empty. Deponent did not see these prahus burnt, but heard they were burnt after they had been plundered. The

fleet attacked Mato, but were repulsed with the loss of ten men. In the attack on Mato about half the force landed below the defences thrown across the river, and the other half engaged from their prahus. Deponent remained in his prahu ;—the party which landed killed one man and captured two women and two children who were with him. Deponent saw these persons himself subsequently to their capture.

“The deponent further saith, that within the last eight months, three large fleets have sailed from Serebas on piratical cruises. The Datu Patingi, the Datu Bander, and the Orang Kaya Pamancha attacked Sadong during the last rice harvest, and killed many people. The deponent was not present himself, but has seen and conversed with many persons who were—the fact is notorious. Sadong was attacked a second time with a fleet not so numerous, and likewise Palo near Sambas.

“The first fleet which attacked Sadong consisted of one hundred and forty prahus, and the second very large fleet was the one destroyed when the deponent was made prisoner.

“Besides these fleets, Abang Mansour with ten prahus attacked and took Simunjang, a branch of the Sadong River, and one prahu attacked the village of Sabangan.

“Deponent has never been but this once on a piratical cruise, and had he not gone he would have been killed by the chiefs of Serebas.

“Deponent when at Serebas resided at Paku.”

DEPOSITION No. 2.

“BURUT, a Bornean, maketh oath and saith, that his residence is at Bruné, that he was at Mato when that place was attacked by the Serebas pirates about two months ago. Deponent was one of the

crew of a large trading prahu, about sixty-five feet long and seventeen feet beam, built at Siriki belonging to Nakoda Masallah, and had just arrived from Sincapore, the cargo was piece goods; on her arrival at Mato the greater part of her cargo was landed.

“The prahu was anchored outside the defences across the river, there was another large prahu there, also laden with sago and bound for Sincapore.

“The Serebas pirates captured, plundered, and burnt both these prahus; the crews escaped on shore. The fleet then attacked Mato and were beaten off—there were upwards of one hundred prahus. If it had not been for the booms secured across the river below the town, the place must have been taken; these defences were made to protect the town against the people of Serebas and Sakarran;—the deponent is certain that the fleet was either from Serebas or Sakarran.”

DEPOSITION No. 8.

“ABANG BIT, formerly a Serebas pirate, now a resident at Sarāwak, maketh oath and saith, that it was the ordinary custom of the Serebas and Sakarran people to go out on piratical expeditions, sometimes from the one place, sometimes from the other, and the party going out were in the habit of sending an invitation to the other tribe. The object of these expeditions was to take plunder and to obtain heads. When at sea, they made no difference amongst those they attacked—attacking all whom they could overcome.

“Deponent further saith, that he hath been out very often on piratical expeditions—at least thirty times, that he has often attacked and plundered trading prahus when on those excursions. He deposeth to having been present at an attack on Palo near Sambas;—the inhabitants were Chinese; the fleet killed many Chinese and

Malay Fishermen at the entrance of the Sambas River : he was also present at the attack upon Sinkawan when upwards of one hundred Chinese men were killed,—at the capture of Sungie Takong where fifty Chinese were killed,—at the capture of Sungie Biah where one hundred and fifty Chinese were killed,—at Duri one hundred heads were obtained; many other places were also attacked by the Serebas fleets in which deponent was out. The Malays plundered the places captured, and the Dyaks got the heads. All these places were in the Sambas and Pontianak countries; they were not attacked from motives of revenge or in retaliation for injuries received, but for the sake of plunder and heads. Deponent declareth that the people of Serebas do not trade, but when in want of money or slaves go pirating. Deponent hath taken many slaves and plundered with the rest; of those whom he made slaves some are dead and some have been sold; he left Serebas six or seven years ago, but before that lived there from his youth upwards, and he is now an old man.

“Deponent saith that he was present at the destruction of the fleet, at the mouth of the Serebas River, by the force under the command of Capt. Farquhar, and that he is certain they were a Serebas fleet.”

DEPOSITION No. 4.

“ABANG BUYONG maketh oath and saith, that he has frequently been pirating from Serebas, that on those occasions his object was plunder; the Dyaks took heads. They never make any distinction of nation. They had no friends when at sea, and captured all they could conquer. This deponent further saith, that he has been present at the capture of many trading prahus—some were Bruné vessels, some Sambas, and some from the islands, and that he has been present at the attack of many Chinese and other places;—and this

deponent further saith that he was present at the mouth of the Serebas River when the piratical fleet was destroyed by the force under Commander Farquhar. That fleet was from Serebas."

DEPOSITION No. 5.

"ABANG HASSAN, a Sadong Malay, maketh oath and saith, that about ten years ago he resided at Sakarran; during the time he resided there, the people of Sakarran often went out pirating to different parts of the coast; had seen the prahus return bringing back plunder, prisoners, and heads of upwards of one hundred Chinese, and others taken by them about Sambas; had also been out with them himself with one hundred and thirty prahus and attacked Pous, a town in the Pontianak territory; took that place, plundered and burnt it. On another occasion attacked the town of Sassang with one hundred and twenty prahus and took it, killed twenty-five of the inhabitants, and captured thirty women and children. Deponent asserts that at that time several other Malays under Sheriff Saib residing at Sadong also joined the fleet which attacked Sausang. Sheriff Saib compelled them to go. It was not in retaliation for injury done by the parties they attacked that they made these excursions, but because of their love for plunder and heads; at sea they make no distinction whatever. The Sadong people although on terms of friendship with them, if they met at sea they killed. Deponent's father, a Sadong man, was killed by them at the mouth of the Sadong River.

"Deponent on one occasion was on the coast with Sheriff Saib, when he was attacked by two Sakarran prahus—they (the Sakarran people) knew Sheriff Saib and the prahu he was in, which being well armed beat them off. Sheriff Saib was their great friend and abettor.

“Deponent then boarded Sakarran prahus, and asked why they attacked their friends—they replied ‘at home we make a distinction between friends and enemies, but at sea everybody we kill and plunder.’”

DEPOSITION No. 6.

“SUTJONG a Malay, formerly of Sakarran, at present residing in Sarāwak, maketh oath and saith, that he lived for twenty-five years at Sakarran, and that he frequently went out on piratical excursions with the people of that place; that on one occasion they attacked Sungei Purun and took that place and plundered it;—that they killed fifteen Chinese and captured three on another occasion; they destroyed the town at Sungei Pinyu and killed three Malays there; they then attacked Sungei Duri but were beaten off, they only having eight prahus. On another occasion, with eight prahus he attacked Sungei Riah, and captured that place; the inhabitants fled, the town was plundered. On another occasion he attacked the tribe of Sow Dyaks with ninety prahus and defeated them; they killed about 200 men, and captured nearly 200 women and children: that village they also plundered and destroyed.

“Deponent positively asserts that these people of both Serebas and Sakarran do not make these attacks on account of injury done previously by the parties,—they kill, plunder, and destroy any persons whatever they may meet at sea.”

DEPOSITION No. 7.

“SITAL, residing at Sarāwak, maketh oath and saith, that about nine years ago, when on a voyage from Sarāwak to Pontiana in a trading prahu, he was attacked by three Serebas prahus containing

about forty men each; they captured his boat and sunk her, having first of all plundered everything that was in her. The deponent further saith, that of the crew of seven men all were killed excepting himself; he (the deponent) was wounded and taken prisoner to Serebas. After being kept there about ten days, he was sold as a slave to a Malay residing at Siriki, and afterwards ransomed by his relatives at Sarāwak.

“When attacked by the Serebas pirates, the deponent’s prahu was at sea under sail near Tanjong Datu. The Serebas prahus were armed with muskets, spears, and swords, all of which they made use of during the attack.”

DEPOSITION No. 8.

“ASSING, Chinaman, now residing in Sarāwak, maketh oath and saith, that a few years since he was fishing near the mouth of the Sambas River, in company with another boat, when he was attacked by upwards of thirty Serebas prahus and escaped himself with difficulty, the other boat being taken and three of the crew in her murdered; he had a small house on shore, which they plundered and burnt.

“They have very frequently been at the mouth of the Sambas River, and on this particular occasion passed along the coast and took the Chinese town of Sankawan. He positively deposeth these prahus to have been from Serebas, he being well acquainted with their appearance, and that of the people in them, there being no other kind of boats of like appearance cruising along the coast.”

DEPOSITION No. 9.

“YAKUB, a Bornean, now residing at Sarāwak, maketh oath and saith that he is a fisherman, and was living at the Maratabas entrance

of the Sarāwak River when that place was attacked by the Serebas or Sakarran Dyaks about a month and a half ago. They first attacked three small trading prahus anchored off the village, and captured them; one had a Kling on board who was going to Kaluka; four of the crew were killed, including the Kling; one escaped, by name Sahah. The Dyaks then landed and attacked the village. The deponent ran up into his house, and in going up the ladder was wounded behind the knee by one of the Dyaks with a spear: deponent defended himself in the house, and kept firing at the Dyaks with a musket. The Dyaks burnt two houses, killed altogether six men, wounded four, and captured one woman; they then got into their boats and pulled away in the direction of Sakarran. The deponent is certain they were either Sakarran or Serebas Dyaks, as he is well acquainted with their appearance and also of the prahus they use."

DEPOSITION No. 10.

"LABOO maketh oath and saith, that he was fishing at the entrance of the Maratabas River when the village and boats there were attacked by the Serebas or Sakarran Dyaks. The Dyak prahus were six in number, one very large and five small ones.

"This deponent was on shore in a house at the time they attacked the trading-boats anchored off the village, and saw the attack made and the boats captured. After that the crew of one prahu landed and attacked deponent's house and set fire to it: the deponent fled into the jungle, and the Dyaks plundered everything in his house.

"This deponent further saith he saw the Kling wounded by the Dyaks, who crawled into the house next deponent's and there died.

"That he deposes these prahus to have been either from Serebas or Sakarran.

“He is well acquainted with the appearance of these Dyaks and the description of prahus they use. Six men were killed and four wounded in the attack; this attack took place about forty-five days ago.”

DEPOSITION No. 11.

“LOHOT, a Linga Malay, maketh oath and saith, that about forty-five days ago he was in a small boat, with four persons besides himself, at the Maratabas entrance of the Sarāwak River. At break of day five bankongs, or prahus, came from seaward and attacked their boat. They killed his father and two uncles, and a Kling-man who was a passenger on board. The boat deponent was in was bound to Kaluka, and everything on board of it lost. Deponent alone escaped. The cargo of the boat was piece-goods: he could not observe the size or force of the prahus as he fled, but certainly they were Dyaks of Sakarran or Serebas.”

JUDGE'S CERTIFICATE FOUNDED ON THE ABOVE DEPOSITIONS.

“I, the Honourable Sir Christopher Rawlinson, Knight, Recorder of Her Majesty's Court of Judicature of the Settlement of Prince of Wales's Island, Sincapore, and Malacca, and one of the Judges of Her Majesty's Court of Admiralty of the said Settlement, do certify, that in pursuance of an application made under the Statute of 6 Geo. IV. cap. 49, entitled, ‘An act for encouraging the Capture or destruction of piratical Ships and Vessels,’ on the fourteenth day of September last past, to the said Court of Admiralty by Arthur Farquhar, commander of Her Majesty's Sloop-of-war the

Albatross, respecting the capture and destruction of a certain fleet of piratical prahus or vessels off the entrances of the Kaluka and Serebas Rivers, off the coast of Borneo, depositions of certain witnesses were taken before me, and the depositions of other certain other witnesses absent from the jurisdiction of the said Court were taken and received under certain commissions issued by me out of the said Court of Admiralty, touching the same; and that it has been proved to my satisfaction by the evidence so adduced before me, that on the thirty-first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty nine, a force under the command of the said Arthur Farquhar, consisting of Her Majesty's sloop *Royalist*, the Honourable East India Company's armed steamer *Nemesis*, and Her Majesty's steam-tender *Ranée*, with a flotilla consisting of the gig, pinnace, and cutter of Her Majesty's said sloop *Albatross*, fitted up as gun-boats and manned by seventy-three officers and men of the said sloop *Albatross*, thirteen officers and men of the said sloop *Royalist*, and seventeen officers and men of the said steamer *Nemesis*, succeeded in capturing or destroying eighty-eight of the said fleet of piratical prahus at the places aforesaid. And I do further certify that the number of piratical persons killed on the said occasion by the said armed force was five hundred, and that the aggregate number of the piratical men forming the crews of the said eighty-eight piratical prahus who were alive on board the said eighty-eight piratical prahus at the beginning of the attack thereof, but who were not taken or killed, could not have been less than two thousand one hundred and forty. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the said Court to be affixed in Singapore aforesaid, this eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine.

(Seal)

(Signed)

"CHR. RAWLINSON."

III.

MR. HUME'S LATEST CHARGES AGAINST SIR JAMES BROOKE.

The substance of the most recent charges brought against Sir James Brooke by Mr. Hume, worked out in two or three elaborate letters to the Earl of Malmesbury, may be most concisely seen in the following questions which he submits for his Lordship's consideration. They are to be found in the "Parliamentary Papers" of this year. Mr. Hume is responsible for the grammar as well as the spirit of them :—

" 1. Whether the conduct of Sir James Brooke, in getting possession of Sarāwak from Muda Hassim, under the guns of the *Royalist*, is to be approved of by Her Majesty's Government ?

" 2. Whether, having got the possession of Sarāwak in that manner, and also obtained the sanction of the Sultan for a tribute of 2000 dollars, and considering that Sir James Brooke got rid of that tribute under the guns of Sir Thomas Cochrane, and further obtained a new grant from the Sultan when he was in the jungle, and under constraint of the British forces, is not derogatory to a British subject and to a British Government ?

" 3. Whether the complaint of the Sultan, that Sir James Brooke has never paid the tribute to him, is consistent with the honour of a British officer and the British Government ?

" 4. Whether it is right that Sir James Brooke should be supported in Sarāwak by a British fleet, when he has violated all his agreements with the Sultan, who first sanctioned the possession ?

" 5. Whether it is right to keep Sir James Brooke as Her Majesty's Commissioner to the very man he has thus injured, and refused to pay his tribute ?

" 6. Whether, as Sir James Brooke holds Sarāwak without any

sanction from the British Government, and without paying the tribute as agreed to, Sir James Brooke should be allowed to hold Her Majesty's Commission any longer?"

An answer in detail to these questions, and to the long elaborations of which they are the finishing touches, would be out of place here; but Mr. Hume may be assured that they can, and will at any proper time, be answered satisfactorily. It must suffice here to state that the charges involved in these questions are built on a perversion of plain facts, and a partial application of isolated passages in my former work, or in that of Captain Mundy. It is hence evident that the refutation of them must be rather long: and I will therefore abstain from any further remark, after observing that the principal offences now alleged against Sir James Brooke are of many years standing—older even than the piracy question: and I still doubt whether the public will admit that it has been "the victim of strange and discreditable delusions," in patronising Sir James Brooke as a respectable character.

IV.

QUESTION OF "TRADING."

There remains one matter of accusation against Sir James Brooke as to which, it being out of my province, I have thought it best to ask him to furnish me with his own explanation. It has been stated that, while he is a servant of the Crown, he is also a "*trader*," which two occupations are held to be incompatible with each other. I have received from Sir James Brooke the following statement, which, as it appears to me, ought to set the question at rest:—

"You ask me for an explanation with reference to the charge that I have been a merchant, whilst holding an office under Govern-

ment, and that my 'mercantile speculations' were opposed to the public interests. If by a merchant is meant a person who buys and sells for his own advantage, then I have never been a merchant at all, and I most distinctly contradict the assertion that I have ever been engaged in 'mercantile speculation,' or pursuit, since my appointment to office in 1847. In the year 1845 I was the unpaid agent of the English Government. In 1847 I was appointed Commissioner, and in January, 1848, became Governor of Labuan. With these dates the following brief narrative will be better understood. In September 1841 it became necessary that a revenue should be raised to support the expenses of the New Government of Sarāwak, and this revenue was realised with the consent of the native chiefs. Owing, however, to the depressed condition of the population, the expenditure considerably exceeded the income; and, in order to supply the deficiency of the public revenue, I (through agents appointed for the purpose, and in accordance with the custom of Malayan rulers) purchased the produce brought by the natives for sale. The entire proceeds derived from this expedient were applied to defray the charges incurred by my unprecedented, but public, position; and the deficiency of the revenue, year after year, was made good from my private fortune. I leave you to decide whether, in the ordinary application of language, it can be said I was trading at all, or trading for profit to be devoted to my own advantage; from the first hour I undertook the government, my desire was to place the revenues of Sarāwak upon a secure basis. After encountering many obstacles, I succeeded in carrying out my views on this subject, and in 1846, the antimony mines, the opium farm, and other inconsiderable items of revenue were leased for five years, and at the same period the trading operations on the public account were finally terminated.

“ In 1849, in consequence of the bankruptcy of the lessees, this

lease reverted to Government; and in 1850 the antimony mines were again let, whilst the opium farm has since continued to be managed by an officer of the Sarāwak Government. To explain the system of revenue pursued in Sarāwak might be tedious here, but such are the two principal sources whence it is derived, and upon which the question may be judged. The antimony mines are analogous to the Crown mines of any other country: the revenue from them accrues from the annual sum paid by the lessees; the rights of individuals, whether European or native, are not violated, nor is the freedom of commerce in any manner infringed by the appropriation of these mines for public purposes; and instead of being as formerly a forced labour-monopoly for private use, they are now applied for the benefit of the people by free labour supply.

“ The opium farm is identical in principle, and not materially different in its operation from the opium farm in the British settlements. It is a farm for the purposes of revenue on the retail sale of opium; and the right of retail sale rests in the Government, and is let to a farmer, or if a farmer cannot be found is superintended by a government officer. I may add to this brief explanation, that the revenue system of Sarāwak, although probably not the best that could be devised in theory, is suited to the state of society; is, conjointly with myself, administered by the native chiefs; and is not complained of by the people; and it must be clear that a public revenue, realized as I have described, and applied to public purposes, cannot be termed a ‘mercantile speculation’ in which I am personally engaged. If the revenues of Sarāwak cover the annual expenses of the Government I am content; and if at any time one branch of the revenue should be superseded, the deficit would be supplied by some other tax imposed on the people; but it could in no way affect my personal

interests, excepting as it affected the prosperity of the country. I have expended a very considerable sum from a limited private fortune to maintain the government of Sarāwak, and to relieve the sufferings of its people ; I boldly affirm that the security and happiness of a large population now depend upon the Government: I have refrained from imposing taxes even to repay the sum I have laid out; and at this present moment the revenue barely meets the expenditure, and the country is burdened with a debt. I have expended the greater portion of the salary I have received from the English Government to advance public objects; I have made sacrifices in which I glory, and I have gained nothing, but the love of a rude, and noble people. After a life of danger, privation and pecuniary sacrifice, I feel the hardship of being called a trader—one engaged in ‘mercantile speculations’ contrary to duty, and to honour, and contrary to the interests of the public. I will make good what I have now advanced whenever I am called upon, and prove that a public revenue cannot be confounded without injustice with private trade, and that I have never been engaged in any ‘mercantile speculations’ or pursuit since my appointment to office in the year 1847.”

V.

PRODUCTIONS OF NORFOLK ISLAND.

The subjoined list of woods, and brief description of some of the plants and shrubs growing on Norfolk Island, may not be found uninteresting. As will be seen, they are of various degrees of usefulness. There is no near prospect of any of them running out, and in fact the island is still almost half bush, within which young trees of most kinds are shooting up to supply the place of those cut down. Yet coal should be now sent in considerable proportions for

the forges. Making charcoal on the island uses up most extravagantly the best hard timber, and the practice of tanning should be discontinued, and the hides salted and sent to head quarters.

The Cherry Tree, the bark of which is used for tanning, is one of the most useful woods, and it is decreasing rapidly by being stripped of its bark, and so left to perish.

The Norfolk Island Pine (*Altingia excelsa*) is seen 100 feet above the other forest trees, and resembles the Norway spruce, but its tiers are more distant. Its timber is not of good quality, as it soon rots when exposed to the weather, and the teredo, or auger worm, makes fearful ravages in the fences made of this timber, which seldom stand three years. It is generally used for building purposes, flooring, partitions, &c.; and when kept dry and not exposed to the weather, it is more durable. *The Pine* (*Araucaria excelsa*) is also used for the same purposes, and is precisely of the same quality, but not so lofty as the former.

The Blood Wood (*Croton sanguisfluina*) is of little value except for firewood, but on an incision being made in the bark, a fluid exudes which is used for marking the convicts' slops, staining furniture, &c., and it is a good tonic and astringent.

Hop Wood (*Dordonea orientalis*) does not attain to more than a foot in diameter, and is principally used for veneering and turning ornaments.

Iron Wood (*Notelæa longifolia*) is used in all wheel-wright's work, and is very hard and durable. It is also used for cabinet-work, and, when French-polished, it is not excelled by any of the fancy woods.

Maple (*Acer Dobinea*) is also very handsome, and used for cabinet work.

Hard Yellow Wood (*Blackburnia pirmata*) is much used for making household furniture.

White Oak (*Hibiscus Patersonii*) a shady tree forty feet high. Its leaves are a whitish green, sepals green and petals pink, fading to white, and the size of a small wine glass. It is the largest of the mallow tribe, and attains sixteen feet in circumference. In an economic sense it is valueless, except for firewood.

The Norfolk Island Cabbage Tree (*Seaforthia sapida*) is a handsome palm, about twenty feet high and two feet in circumference, green and smooth, with annular scars left by the fallen leaves: the frondes form a magnificent crest at the top of the column; they are pectinate, about nineteen feet long, and they vary from nine to fifteen in number. The apex of the trunk is enclosed in the sheathing bases of the leaf-stalks, along with the flower-buds and young leaves. When the leaves fall they discover double-compressed sheaths, pointed at the upper extremity, which split open indiscriminately on the upper or under side, and fall off, leaving a branched spadix or flower-stem, which is the colour of ivory, and attached by a broad base to the trunk. The flowers are produced upon the spadix; they are very small, and are succeeded by round seeds, red internally. As the seeds advance towards maturity, the spadix becomes green. The young unfolded leaves rise perpendicularly in the centre of the crest. In this state they are used for making hats; those still unprotruded and remaining enclosed within the sheaths of the older leaves form a white mass, as thick as a man's arm: they are eaten raw, boiled, or pickled. In a raw state they taste like a nut, and boiled they resemble artichoke bottoms.

The Norfolk Island Grass Tree (*Freycinetia baueriana*) is a remarkable production. It belongs to the tribe of Pandaneæ or Screw pines. Its stem is marked by rings, like the cabbage tree, where the old leaves have fallen off, and it lies on the ground, or climbs like ivy round the trees. The branches are crowned with

crests of broad sedge-like leaves, from the centre of which the flowers arise, the petals of which are a bright scarlet, and the sepals green, and when they fall off clusters of three or four oblong pulpy fruit, four inches in length, and as much in circumference, appear.

The *Tree Fern* (*Alsophila excelsa*) measures forty feet in height, and has a magnificent crest of frondes. The black portion of the trunk is used for stringing by cabinet-makers.

The *Tree Fern* (*Cyathea medularis*) is about twenty feet in height the frondes of which are eleven feet in length, and present the same beautiful appearance as the former. Another beautiful *Tree Fern* (*Marattia elegans*) has frondes fourteen feet in length, seven feet of which are destitute of branches; of these it has eight and a half pairs, which are again branched and clothed with leaflets five inches long, and three-quarters of an inch broad.

The *Norfolk Island Bread-fruit* (*Charlwoodia australis*) attains twenty feet in height; it branches from within a few feet of the ground, and forms several heads, with flag-like leaves, and long-branched spikes of greenish star-flowers, succeeded by whitish or bluish purple berries that are eaten by parrots.

Botryodendrium latifolium, a shrub of singular form, allied to the Ivy, but of a very different appearance, prevails near the coast. Its figure may be compared to a long-leaved cabbage, mounted on a broomstick. The stem is about fifteen feet high, and five inches round; its largest leaves are about two feet long, and one foot broad. The fruit is a dense cluster of greenish purple berries, not edible, produced in the centre of the crown of leaves.

The *Norfolk Island Spice* (*Piper psittacorum*) attains the height of ten feet, and has cane-like joints, and heart-shaped leaves. It produces a yellow, pulpy, pendant, cylindrical fruit of a spicy, sweetish taste, which is an excellent preserve, and, if gathered green,

it is equally good pickled. The leaf bears great resemblance to that of the Pân, or beetle creeper of the East Indies.

The fruits grown in the garden are, the *Peach*, a very inferior kind, but the tree growing vigorously is thus calculated to make an excellent stock. The *Almond*, of two inferior kinds; one with a very hard shell, the other with one a little softer, yet still also hard.

The *Quince*, a good stock, but likewise of inferior quality.

Several varieties of *Apple*, much affected by an island blight.

Vines, of sorts which all grow freely, and might be cultivated to considerable perfection.

Pine-apples, which grow and fruit well, but of inferior quality.

Banana, small and good.

Strawberries excellent, but the plants must be renewed yearly, like other plants on the island, never resting, and being thus soon exhausted.

Raspberries have been tried, and grow vigorously, but do not fruit.

The *White Mulberry* (*Morus alba*) is wild, but does not fruit, and an experiment made by Mrs. Machonochie, of feeding silkworms on the leaves, fully succeeded. One young English mulberry-tree, a young walnut-tree, and about ninety vines of superior cuttings, introduced also by Mrs. Maconochie, are in the Government House garden, and are all promising, but quite young, having only been introduced within the last two years.

The wild fruits (not indigenous) are the guava, lemon, lime, citron (very rare), orange (a great many were destroyed by order of Major Morrisett), and Cape gooseberry abundant. All these grow freely when unmolested in the bush; but when planted out, all, excepting the last, are much subject to the same blight with the apple.

Melons and *Pumpkins* of all kinds thrive well, as also *coffee*, which fruits abundantly, and of good quality.

Most English vegetables are on the island, and, excepting that they require a frequent change of seed, they in the main grow well.

The common potato, turnip, carrot, cabbages, cauliflowers, onions, leeks, lettuces, beans, peas, rhubarb, asparagus, are all good. It is garden culture and cropping, indeed, that generally suits the island best,—crops only a short time in the ground, with frequent renewing of light manure, constant cleanliness, and a due regard to shelter. When these are combined, and quality of return is sought, rather than mere quantity, the cultivator will seldom be disappointed.

Of tropical vegetables there are three,—the sweet potato, arrow-root, and South Sea tara. The latter is indigenous, and is found on the banks of all the creeks. The two former are cultivated extensively, particularly the sweet potato, which is the chief article of food used by the prisoners, and attains an enormous size. The arrow-root when properly prepared is not inferior to any grown elsewhere.

THE END.

